

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Series D - No. 39.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATIVE CODES
IN EAST JAVA

by
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(MATERIALS IN LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA No.8.)
W.A.L. Stokhof, Series Editor.



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First Published 1981.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in
the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas
Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 255 0

PREFACE

This study presents a description of speech choices in East Java and primarily in urban areas. The data for this study come mostly from recordings of casual conversations, discussions on several topics, speeches, interviews and other speech events made in a number of different social situations.

This work has been inspired by the writings of Fishman, Gumperz, Hymes, Labov and others who have considered and used social factors as the determining agents and influences in their analyses of speech variants.

For many reasons, East Java offers a wide range of intriguing problems in communicative speech choice. The population of this region, which numbers more than twenty-six and a half million, consists of Javanese, Madurese, descendants of Chinese and Arabs, and immigrants from the outer islands and their descendants. Each of these ethnic groups has its customs and speech habits that are practised by members of the respective groups. Most of the population speak a language other than Indonesian as the native language and use Indonesian primarily for official and educational purposes as well as for inter-ethnic communication. Javanese constitute the largest portion of the population. Javanese culture predominates and the Javanese values which form the standard for the Javanese to follow set the tone and are imitated by the other groups. There has thus been developed in East Java a set of common values which are recognised throughout the population regardless of ethnic origin. These values are reflected in speech particularly in the choice of variant when there are several variants available. There are also other social factors in East Java which, along with these common values, control the conduct and speech choice of the interlocutors in a certain social situation. These social factors can be classified in terms of social setting, subject

matter, key and purpose and in terms of the relationships of the interlocutors. The latter involves status (which depends on one's age, sex, attainment in education and career), family and marital connections, intimacy and ethnicity. In speech all these social factors and social values are realised in the choices of code, terms of address and borrowings. As the communicative code the interlocutors may choose Javanese, Madurese, Balinese (or other native languages of the outer-islanders), Standard Indonesian as used in East Java, Educated Javanese Indonesian, Non-educated Javanese Indonesian, Peranakan Chinese Indonesian or Dutch. In each of the codes the interlocutors also use terms of address borrowed from Javanese, Chinese, Dutch and English. Each of the native languages is used as an ethnic identity as well as an indication of intimacy. In situations which call for Indonesian, borrowings from these native languages, particularly from Javanese, substitute for the use of a native language when ethnic identity or intimacy is to be indicated. Standard Indonesian is used only in very formal situations for it suggests not only formality but also distance and impersonality. Dutch and Dutch borrowings are often used by the elite of the older generation and their offspring as an in-group identity. They are also often used by the Ambonese and the Menadonese as an ethnic identity. Dutch borrowings are also used by educated Peranakans as a sub-group identity. As their ethnic identity the Peranakans normally use Chinese borrowings. English is often spoken by a very limited group of educated people, particularly of the younger generation and English borrowings are a great deal in use by the educated people of the younger generation as their in-group symbol. Borrowings are also used as technical terms and for emphasis. Further, under certain conditions switching from one code to another is very common in East Java.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Soeseno Kartomihardjo was born on March 25, 1934 in Purworejo, Central Java. He received his doctorandus degree in 1964 from the School for Teachers and Educational Sciences (FKIP), Airlangga University in Malang. Since that time he has been teaching at the Institute for Teachers and Educational Sciences (IKIP) in Malang. From 1968 to 1970 he received an assistantship from the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University and a travel grant from the Ford Foundation, to study Linguistics at Cornell University. He received his M.A. there in 1970. After he returned to IKIP Malang and taught for five years, he was given the opportunity to continue his studies toward the doctoral degree at Cornell University. He was supported by grants and assistantships from the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, the Southeast Asia Program of Cornell University and from the Ford Foundation, through the agency of the Social Science Research Center in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Soeseno is married to Soeharsi. They have four children, Rini Purwani, Sigit Prayudi, Iwan Priyanto and Rudyat Kuntaryo.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was made possible by funds granted by the Ford Foundation through the Social Science Research Centre in Jakarta, the Graduate School and the Southeast Asia Programme of Cornell University.

I am very grateful to all those people who aided me in many ways and enabled me to obtain my academic training and complete this work. However, I myself am responsible for the statements made and views expressed in this study.

My special gratitude goes to the members of my Special Committee, to Professor John U. Wolff for his valuable suggestions and criticisms and for the encouragement and stimulation that made the writing of this study not only endurable but also exciting, and to Professors Robert B. Jones and John M. Echols for their insightful advice and comments in the final stages.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my brother Kesti and my friends Mia S. Syahran and M. Inkiriwang who helped me collect the data for this study, and to all those people who allowed me to record their speech.

A special note of thanks must go to my friends Ellen Rafferty who has let me use a great amount of data she collected and Donald Orr who helped me make my English more readable and to Mrs. Roberta Ludgate who undertook the long and arduous task of typing the Ph.D. thesis.

I gratefully acknowledge the help of the Modern Indonesia Project of Cornell University which provided me with an office during the period in which I wrote this work.

Finally, I am indebted to my wife and children for their understanding, patience and unending endurance during my graduate studies and during the completion of this work.

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CHAPTER ONE

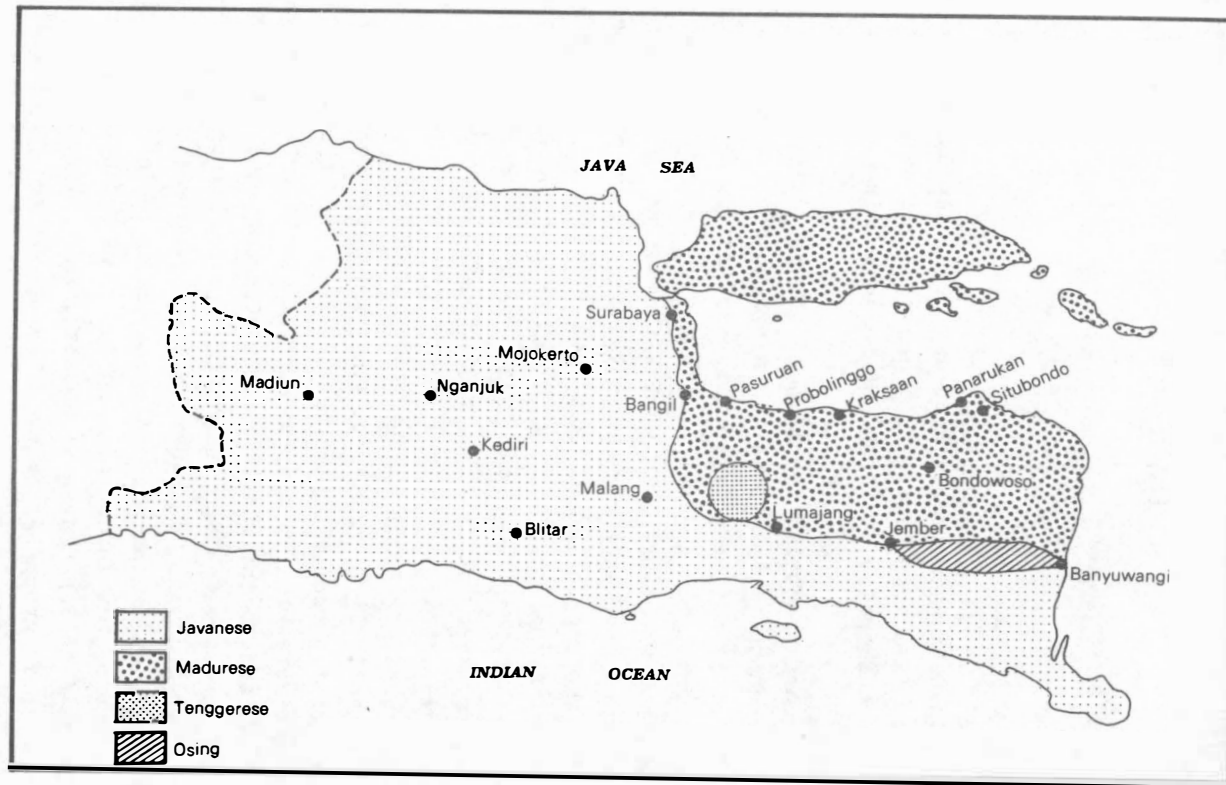
INTRODUCTION

1.1. SCOPE

This study investigates the current use of spoken Indonesian and Javanese in East Java with regard to the social and cultural factors which determine the choice of either of these two languages and their varieties.

Such choices are essential for members of East Javanese society in daily life because they mark social meanings which are to be indicated, sometimes implicitly but very often also explicitly, in their communication with one another. A given choice may or may not be shared by members of a group who happen to involve themselves in a speech situation. As we shall see in a more detailed discussion at a later point in this study, the population of East Java consists of various groups in accordance with the norms and values which are appreciated and followed by members of the same group. As a member of East Javanese society, however, every individual, regardless of group, subjects himself to the common norms and values established in society. Our task in this study, thus, is to investigate what choices there are in East Java which are socially significant; who uses these choices, when and where and for what purposes these choices are used (Fishman 1972:3). We shall investigate what choices are available to interlocutors of the same background and to interlocutors of different social backgrounds. We shall also investigate other significant social factors to be considered in inter-group as well as intra-group communication.

The investigation is intended as a case study which will contribute to our knowledge of how Indonesian and Javanese (with their varieties) are actually used in East Javanese society, not only among people of the Javanese ethnic group but among other ethnic groups as well who are residents of East Java.



EAST JAVA LINGUISTIC AREAS

1.2. AREA AND POPULATION

East Java is inhabited by several ethnic groups which come into contact with one another. Though there are areas in which certain groups predominate, members of all of these groups are found throughout the area, except for the Tenggerese and the Osing people who rarely ever leave their respective native areas. The accompanying map shows the regions in which certain groups predominate.

The ethnic Javanese are the vast majority of the population of East Java (approximately 68 percent¹). Many portions of East Java have been heavily populated by Madurese over hundreds of years and immigration from Madura continues; indeed there are areas which are predominantly Madurese (see also map). There are two isolated groups in East Java, the Tenggerese, confined to the upper reaches of the Tengger Mountains, and the Osing who live in the vicinities of Banguwangi and Jember.

TABLE 1
Population Figures in East Java*

Year	Indonesian	Foreigner	Total
1961	-	-	21,823,020
1971	25,357,621	140,766	25,508,387
1975	26,441,944	114,910	26,556,854

*Since 1961 census there have been no figures according to Indonesian ethnic groups.

Sources: Sensus 1961; Sensus 1971; Statistical Year-book of Indonesia 1976.

¹Ethnic groups are not clearly indicated in the censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1977. (See also Tables 1 and 2.)

TABLE 2
Ethnic Groups in East Java in 1975*

Group	Number
Javanese	18,058,692
Madurese	7,435,932
Outer-islander	376,828
Osing	318,682
Peranakan Chinese	225,253
Foreigners	114,910
Tenggerese	26,557
	<hr/> 26,556,854

*The data for this study was mostly collected in 1975, so the estimated ethnic groupings for that year is more relevant. The estimated population by the end of 1978 (given by Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 1976) is 29,300,000.

Source: My estimate based on 1975 Population Registration and personal notes.

In addition, there are other ethnic groups of considerable size who are scattered throughout the area. First in importance are the Peranakan Chinese, descendants of Chinese, settled in Java for many generations, whose primary speech is Javanese and Indonesian with unique characteristics. Second is the Peranakan Arab group most of whom also are speakers of Javanese and Indonesian with ethnic peculiarities not found in the speech of the Chinese or other groups. The third group is made up of descendants of outer islanders who have been coming in numbers to East Java for the past fifty years, who speak Indonesian and who may understand Javanese.

Ethnicity is an important social factor in the choice of language varieties; identities of the speaker, hearer and person referred to determine the choice of one from among many varieties. Here we shall confine ourselves to the investigation of the speech of particularly the Javanese and the Peranakan Chinese who live in the areas populated mainly by the Javanese.

1.3. LINGUISTIC SITUATION

In the predominantly Javanese parts of East Java the Javanese speak Javanese, the Chinese descendants speak a variety of Indonesian and also some Javanese, the descendants of Arabs speak their variety of Indonesian and some Javanese, while other ethnic groups largely speak their own native languages. Second and subsequent generations of non-Javanese normally also speak some Javanese. Some of the population, particularly educated people speak standard Indonesian and one or more varieties of colloquial Indonesian while most of the population speaks one or more varieties of colloquial Indonesian but not standard Indonesian. What exists in these parts of East Java is a situation of diglossia with standard Indonesian as the official and ceremonial language (High language, Ferguson 1959). The language which functions as the (Ferguson, *ibid.*) varies according to education and ethnicity. For a certain group it might be a variety of Javanese, for another it might be a variety of Indonesian, for others even another language.

1.3.1. JAVANESE

There are two important geographical dialects of Javanese:¹ the dialect of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, considered to be the standard dialect, and the East Javanese dialect. Although these two dialects are essentially the same language, there are some differences in pronunciation (see examples of vowel shifts, 3.1.1), in morphology (see examples of -no in 3.2.1.4), in lexical choices (see examples of sungkan in 2.1.3) and most important, in sociolinguistic meanings.

Each of these regional dialects has a set of speech levels: the basic level or the Ngókó (N) which is used among intimates, and the polite level or the Kromo (K) used by persons in a formal relationship. These levels are marked by different sets of lexical items, grammatical markers and particular grammatical constructions. When in K certain lexical items are lacking the N lexical items are used. In between the two levels there is an intermediate level called the Madyo (M) which is marked by the use of a limited set of M lexical items, the N affixes, and a choice of K or N forms, depending on the degree of formality. On all these levels honorific forms called the Kromo Inggél (KI) may be employed to give a special honor to the person referred to and spoken to, and deferential forms which are called the Kromo Andhap (KA), which are applied to the speaker or a person referred to, and to his belongings and anything or anybody related to him, to show humility on the part of

¹There are other non-standard dialects, namely the Banyumas, the Tegal and the Cirebon dialects which will not be discussed here.

the speaker or the person referred to. Choices of affixes, honorific forms and levels of speech provide the speaker with the means of indicating subtle degrees of respect, relationships and other social meanings (see also Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo, forthcoming).

In terms of language use the Javanese of East Java can be classified into two groups: the working group (labourers, peasants, blue collar workers, etc.) who speak the N and the M levels and to a limited extent also the K level, and the educated group, including the *priyayi* (descendants of the nobility) who use all the Javanese levels. The former thus use N and M Javanese for a greater variety of functions while the descendants of nobility tend to speak Javanese at all levels according to the social setting and other determining social factors. Slightly different from the *priyayi*, the non-*priyayi* educated Javanese normally speak Javanese N when the determining social factors permit them and use M and K levels in a small number of situations than to the *priyayi*.¹ Table 3 illustrates the significant features, the varieties and the use of the levels.

The N used by the non-educated Javanese is ordinarily the plain N - without KI and KA forms. It is this plain N which is normally learned by non-Javanese residents of East Java and used with their Javanese intimate friends or obvious inferiors. The Javanese friends ordinarily respond in the same plain N while the clear inferiors may respond in the plain N or in the M level. The non-educated Javanese also use the plain N to communicate with equals and juniors. To their Javanese superiors they use M or K, depending on their ability.

The educated Javanese use the plain N to communicate with their younger inferiors, and the N with KI and KA forms to communicate with their equals. Consequently, educated Javanese do not normally speak Javanese with non-Javanese unless they are on very intimate terms since the latter ordinarily do not control the use of KI and KA forms (see also Code Choice in Chapter Five).

1.3.2. INDONESIAN

As in any other regions in Indonesia, in East Java the language used for education and official purposes is standard Indonesian which has been more or less influenced by Javanese, particularly in certain pronunciations (see 3.1.1) and in lexical choice (see 6.2.2.1).²

¹This tendency contrasts with that in C. Java where everybody (*priyayi* or non-*priyayi*) tends to use all levels. Friends and acquaintances mostly use reciprocal N in E. Java, while their counterparts in C. Java may use any level.

²We will abbreviate it SIEJ for Standard Indonesian as spoken in E. Java.

TABLE 3
Javanese Levels

Number	Level	Significant Linguistic Features	Addressed To
1	N	NLex + NAff	Siblings, school children, friends of long standing, etc.
2	M	MLex(KLex)(NLex) + NAff	Vendors, working people, etc.
3	K	KLex(NLex) + KAff	Acquaintances, strangers of the same or higher status when talking about personally unrelated things or people, etc.
4	RN	NLex + KA + KI + NAff	Colleagues, adult relatives (intimate), etc.
5	RM	MLex(KLex)(NLex) + KA + KI + NAff	Adult relatives (with little distance), etc.
6	RK	KLex(NLex) + KAff	Respected relatives and non-intimates, etc.

Notes: N, M, K stand for Ngóko, Madyo and Kromo respectively; NLex, etc., for Ngóko lexical items, etc.; NAff, etc., for Ngóko affixes, etc.; RN, etc., for Respectful Ngóko, etc.; KA and KI for Kromo Andhap and Kromo Inggél. The parentheses () are used to indicate the choice which has to be made when the forms belonging to the preceding category are lacking.

For various informal purposes many varieties of colloquial Indonesian are used. Each of these varieties is marked by characteristic linguistic features according to ethnicity, education, occupation and other social factors which also mark the identity of the speaker.

The colloquial Indonesian used by the educated Javanese (EJI) is basically standard Indonesian which has been influenced a great deal by Javanese in pronunciation, morphology and paratactic structure (discussed in Chapter Three), in Terms of Address (discussed in Chapter Four) and in lexical choice (see 6.2.2.2). In their Javanisation the speakers do not normally include stigmatised forms (these are generally Javanese affixes for which there are standard Indonesian equivalents) (see 3.2.1.1 - 3.2.1.4 and 6.2.2.3).

In contrast with the colloquial variety above, the colloquial variety used by the non-educated Javanese or the working group (NEJI) is replete with Javanised forms (including the stigmatised ones). Further, the speech of the educated Javanese is also marked by Indonesianised borrow-

ings (particularly from Dutch and English) whereas that of the non-educated Javanese is not.

In East Java there are a small number of older educated Javanese who received most of their formal education during the Dutch period. They frequently use Dutch to communicate among themselves. When they speak Indonesian, they normally use Javanised forms which are not used by the younger educated Javanese (see -ken in 3.1.4 and some forms in 3.2.4.1) and Dutch loans.¹ (The younger educated Javanese use more Indonesianised borrowings, particularly from English. See also 6.4.1.)

In terms of language use the non-priyayi educated Javanese normally choose colloquial Indonesian as a means of communication in various informal situations where the N Javanese is either inappropriate or impossible while the priyayi use colloquial Indonesian in informal situations where either the N or the K is inapplicable. On the other hand, the non-educated Javanese use colloquial Indonesian peculiar to themselves in all situations (official or informal) where Javanese is inapplicable, since most of them do not speak standard Indonesian.

1.3.2.1. Peranakan Chinese Indonesian

The Peranakan Chinese in East Java speak a variety of colloquial Indonesian which, for practical purposes, we will call Peranakan Chinese Indonesian (PCI). This variety resembles the variety spoken by the non-educated Javanese in that it also uses the Javanese affixes, including the stigmatised ones and Javanese loans (see 3.2.1.1 - 3.2.1.4 and 6.2.2.3). However, it is distinguishable from the variety spoken by non-educated Javanese because PCI is also marked by Chinese and by a number of Indonesianised Dutch loans and a number of non-standard forms of various other origins (see 3.2.4.1).

This variety is mainly used for intra-ethnic communication but for the non-educated Peranakan it is also used for inter-ethnic communication in informal as well as official situations since most of the non-educated Peranakans do not speak standard Indonesian.

The educated Peranakans use PCI with more Dutch loans (see examples on terms of address in 4.4.3) and more Indonesianised loans other than Chinese (see also example 344 in 6.3.1). For inter-ethnic communication in official situations they speak standard Indonesian as used by educated Javanese while for inter-ethnic communication in informal situations they use colloquial Indonesian as used by the educated Javanese (see also example 271 in 5.3.1), but which is often interlaced with forms peculiar to PCI.

¹There are also a small number of older educated non-Javanese in E. Java whose speech is replete with Dutch loans and who also use -ken and other non-standard forms.

Most of the Peranakan also speak N Javanese (see 1.3.1 above) but a variety which is often marked with non-Javanese loans peculiar to PCI.

1.3.3. OTHER SIGNIFICANT LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA

Under certain circumstances the choice of language variety for a group of people may be different from the usual choices discussed above.

In the rural areas Javanese is mostly used as the means of communication including, sometimes, even government offices where Indonesian would normally be required. In many speech situations the Javanese in these areas prefer to use Javanese to Javanese interlocutors and to those who know Javanese but who may reply in Indonesian (see 5.2.1 and example 278 in 5.3.3). Javanese of the working group who live in the cities or in the vicinity of the cities and deal with city people a great deal usually speak Indonesian, particularly NEJI, more fluently than other non-educated Javanese who have little direct contact with city people.

Many of the non-priyayi educated Javanese who mostly live in urban areas speak colloquial Indonesian at home as well as Javanese N. In such families Indonesian has expanded its functions to the point that it is used in home situations among intimates. As a result of this expanded function of Indonesian K is seldom used by these families and may be only passively understood by the children.¹

In the urban areas in East Java there are quite a number of inter-ethnic marriages among educated people. In many cases the choice of languages at home follows the language of the mother, particularly if she is Javanese. In these families Indonesian normally serves a much wider variety of functions than is the case in an all-Javanese home.

Immigrants from outer islands normally tend to use standard Indonesian for nearly all purposes (particularly those who do not speak Javanese but who may understand it), but for in-group talk (Ambonese and Menadonese in particular) they may use Dutch or a Dutch-Indonesian mixture. Young outer-islanders who come to East Java in numbers to study normally adapt their Indonesian to the varieties of Indonesian spoken by the educated Javanese (SIEJ and EJI). This adaptation is usually faster for those who live as boarders with Javanese families than for those who live in dormitories provided and maintained by institutions from their native islands.

Many educated Peranakans, like the educated non-priyayis, tend to use standard Indonesian in a larger variety of situations. Many of them even use standard Indonesian at home (see quotation 269 in 5.3.1.1).

¹In C. Java in such families N is ordinarily used when talking to children, younger siblings or relatives, while K is usually directed to parents, older siblings or relatives.

1.4. THE PROBLEM

We assume that speech variation is a reflection of social and cultural factors. The problem of this thesis is to examine the observable variations and relate them to social and cultural factors otherwise determinable. For example, as we have discussed above, the variety of Indonesian spoken by the non-educated Javanese (NEJI) is particularly marked by Javanese affixes, as in PCI, but the latter is sprinkled with Chinese loans as well, in which case ethnicity determines the particular loans (see 3.2.1.4).

Education is another significant social factor in East Java. University students address one another as *yu* (English '*you*')¹ and employ many other borrowings, or Indonesianised borrowings, in their speech (see 6.4.1). Thus the particular environment (i.e., being a student) affects the choice of language and variety (see also educated and non-educated Javanese above). We will see later that education plays an important part in controlling the choices in various speech situations. Occupations, as we shall note later, also determine choices (see 2.4.1).

Social situations and tones of speaking (see 2.6.3) in which members of East Javanese society interact and communicate with one another are also significant in daily life. An interlocutor who uses one language variety in a given situation may suddenly switch to another variety because he suddenly changes his tone of speaking (*key*). On the other hand, two interlocutors may use one language variety in one situation and use another in another situation (see the RK in 2.6.1).

There are many other such social factors in East Java which determine or influence the choice of speech and conduct of every member of East Javanese society in his daily communication with other members (see detailed discussions in Chapter Two). The recognition of all these social factors by all members of East Javanese society has obliged every individual to follow the norms and rules established in the group to which the individual belongs. Consequently, every member of society is constantly faced with the problem of selecting the appropriate norms and rules to produce the appropriate speech choice for a given situation. It is this kind of problem which will be the main concern of this thesis dealt with within a theoretical framework discussed in the following section.

1.5. FRAMEWORK AND TERMINOLOGY

In treating such problems we have decided to choose the sociolinguistic approach which includes social and cultural factors in analysing

¹/yu/ is used as an in-group symbol, an indication of intimacy, a means to avoid speech levels (see also 4.5.2).

the speech variants that exist in a speech community. We shall show in subsequent chapters that choice of speech which is normally accompanied by a certain conduct is constrained by common values and social factors such as age, attainment, education, family ties, intimacy, ethnicity, etc., as well as such social factors as situation, subject matter, purpose, and the like. We shall also illustrate that since the areas studied are predominantly Javanese areas, the standards which form the common basis for all social interaction are those of the Javanese. Characteristic speech and conduct which result from following these standards is peculiar to East Java in contrast with other regions in Indonesia.

In the succeeding discussions we shall be using terminology used by Gumperz and Hymes (1972) and those used by Fishman (1972). A number of important and frequently used terms are explicated with some illustrations in the following.

The term *variety* will be frequently used in this study and will refer to a variety of language (here Indonesian and Javanese) which correlates with ethnicity, region, education, occupation, etc. For example, PCI is a variety of Indonesian spoken by Peranakan Chinese in East Java, NEJI is another variety spoken by non-educated Javanese, EJI is still another variety spoken by educated Javanese while Standard Indonesian as spoken in East Java, SIEJ is the variety used in schools and offices.

The term *code* refers to a form of speech which suggests mutual intelligibility, group solidarity, position or status identity, etc. In East Java the colloquial Javanised Indonesian which varies according to ethnicity and education is the common code for most of the population, whereas Dutch is the code used as an in-group identity for the older educated people.

People usually communicate with one another in a social situation. We use the term *social situation* in Fishman's (1972:39) definition. The social situation is a combination of the setting (time and place) and the role relationship of the participants in a particular action. A congruent situation is one in which the role relationship, the participants, the time and place go together in a culturally acceptable way, and language usage norms in East Java are most clearly and uniformly realised in clearly congruent situations. In general, people in East Java recognise two types of social situations, namely, official and unofficial situations. The latter includes a great number of occasions where members of society interact for social (non-business) purposes, such as a visit with a friend, a brief encounter with an acquaintance in the street, a conversation among relatives and the like. Official situations are divided into formal and informal ones. In a

formal and official situation such as at a formal meeting attended by the personnel of an office, at a ritual in a wedding ceremony, at a formal lecture, etc., the choice of code is normally Indonesian (see also 5.2 ff.) accompanied by a limited choice of terms of address (see 4.2.1). On the other hand, in an informal situation such as in an interaction between two colleagues who share the same office, at a non-ritual interaction in a wedding ceremony, at the informal portion of a lecture, etc., the participants have more choices of codes and terms of address even though not as many choices as the participants in an unofficial situation, e.g., choices made by friends and colleagues in a conversation on the tennis court (see also 4.2.2 and 5.3 ff.).

The participants in a situation may consist of **speaker**, **addressee** and **hearer**. In East Java, the presence of a hearer in addition to that of the speaker and addressee is often significant in relation to the choice of rules which in turn determine the choice of variety. For example, the presence of a child as a hearer often forces the adult speaker and addressee to use different terms of address from those employed in the child's absence (see technonymy in 4.2.3). Two Javanese friends who normally speak N Javanese with one another may switch into EJI or an Indonesian-Javanese mixture when a non-Javanese joins them in their conversation (see quotations 256 and 257 in 5.2.2).

The **subject matter** which usually comes into being according to a given topic is a significant component discussed in this study, since along with the form of the message it determines the choice of speech and the focus on the linguistic forms. For example, two Javanese colleagues greet one another and talk about their families in N but soon switch into EJI when they talk about an entrance test in the department where one of them is a faculty member (see quotations 252 and 253 in 5.2.2).

Rules and norms for the use of speech govern the speech events and the speech acts which occur in a given social situation. A **speech act** is the smallest unit which may be contained in a bigger unit, a **speech event**. A **speech event** refers to activities or aspects of activities which are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. For example, a joke or an introduction are speech acts, either one or both of which can be included in a conversation (a speech event) which in turn may take place in a particular context, e.g., a birthday party (a social situation).

Another unit which will be found in the discussions is **key** which refers to the tone, the manner or spirit in which an act is done (see discussions on this in 2.6.3).

Other specific terms which have not been explicated above will be clarified later when those terms are used (particularly in Chapter Two).

1.6. THE DATA

The data for this study come mostly from recordings of casual conversations, discussions on several topics, speeches, interviews and other speech events made in a number of different social situations so as to represent the speech behaviour currently in operation in East Java. In addition to these recordings which total about one hundred hours, I also use personal notes on various observations made when tape-recording was impossible. Most of the recordings were made by my assistants who may or may not have participated as interlocutors in the conversation while they were recording. The material was mostly recorded without the awareness of the interlocutors so as to obtain natural speech samples. This method is allowable according to local standards since all the material collected is strictly for scientific purposes. In situations where confidentiality between two interlocutors is to be maintained (such as that between a doctor and his patient), permission to record and use their conversation for this study was secured from the interlocutors. Some of the material was recorded officially and is available for general use. With the help of colleagues and friends who belong to various ethnic groups, I was able to collect recordings of various intra- and inter-ethnic communication.

For this study I have visited several predominantly Javanese areas, namely Madiun, Kediri, Blitar, Malang, Mojokerto, Nganjuk and their environs (see Map). While travelling I also made notes and recordings of the speech of various people in public places. My assistants also made recordings of the speech of various people from other predominantly Javanese areas in East Java who happened to visit Malang where most of my assistants live.

In short, the recordings represent the speech on various topics, of a wide variety of people, including those of different socio-economic statuses, ages, sexes, education, ethnicity, native languages and origin.

To avoid the possibility of embarrassment or inconvenience, I have changed most of the names of the participants which appear in the examples.

1.7. PREVIOUS WORK

Since Indonesian independence in 1945, sociolinguistic problems have been of great interest for many scholars for many different reasons. In support of the use of one pronoun for an addressee belonging to any socio-economic class or group, Alisyahbana (1957) encouraged the use of *anda*. Geertz (1960) studied the Javanese in East Java with discussions on linguistic etiquette found in the speech of the people. His work was reviewed by Uhlenbeck (1970). Anderson (1966) discusses the inun-

dation of loan words into the Indonesian used by politicians and by people talking about politics. He argues the necessity of these terms, their origin and dissemination and he addresses the problem as to why one set of loans have a certain advantage over the other loans. Witterman (1967) studies the terms of address like *sowdara* 'comrade' and *bapa*? 'father' increasingly used in a situation of rapid social change. Tanner (1967) studies a multilingual Indonesian community living on an American campus and examines the linguistic repertoire and the social factors which determine the choice of the linguistic variant of the speech participants. Soepomo in his dissertation (1970) discusses the influence of Javanese language on Indonesia, especially in written forms, which he has found to be present in pre-European time in some *hikayat* (epics) written in Malay. Wolff and Soepomo have studied language mixture in a bilingual society in Central Java (forthcoming). Wallace in his dissertation (1976) studies the social and linguistic factors which determine the pronunciations, the origin and spread of the phonological peculiarities now found. In addition, university students and teachers in seminars particularly in Java, have also written on this subject but these unpublished writings have not been available to me.

1.8. SOME CONTRIBUTION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY TO SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCHES

The speech situation of East Java offers important insights for a theory of bilingualism, diglossia, speech levels, or any other type of speech variation, for it presents a type of code configuration which has not been heretofore described elsewhere in the world. There are the following intersecting sorts of codes or other sources of speech variation most of which are used throughout the speech community (but some of which are restricted to educated groups or to groups defined by ethnic origin): (1) language (Indonesian and Javanese) whose sociolinguistic meaning is of the sort which is commonly ascribed to the High and Low forms of diglossia and which are chosen for social situations of the sort which elicit the High and Low and the choice of which is also dependent on the ethnicity of the speaker and interlocutors; (2) Javanese speech levels - a cline ranging from *Ngoko* (the basic level used to address familiars) through *Madyo* (forms used to address non-familiars of low status or familiars of high status) to *Kromo* (forms used to address non-familiars as well as familiars of high status); (3) honorifics, the choice of which is determined by the absolute status of the person to whom the honorific refers and secondarily by educational level or prissiness of the speaker; (4) variant terms for the personal

pronouns, the choice of which is determined by factors of absolute status of the person to whom the pronoun refers, the degree of intimacy between the parties of the conversation and partially by the ethnicity of the parties of the conversation; (5) terms of address in vocative usages, the choice of which is determined by factors of relationship, status, occupation, etc.; (6) colloquial versus literary styles, the choice of which is dependent on the tone or the purpose for which the language is used or colloquial versus formal styles, the choice of which is determined by the ethnicity, relative status, setting, and a number of other factors as we shall discuss. Thus the range of variables and the types of variation which are available to members of society in East Java and their meanings and distributions of these codes among various elements of the population, are unique in type among speech situations heretofore described and make a contribution in filling out the picture of the range of repertoire variations which exist in speech communities.

Further, it is the thesis of this study that an empirically based examination of the facts of variation together with a study of the basic ethical system which underlies Javanese behaviour will reveal that code choice or choice of variable is a function of the value system and that the sociolinguistic meaning of choice can be seen as an expression of the value system. This value system, though basically Javanese (with some special features typical of East Java and not found elsewhere in the Javanese area), has very much set the tone for all ethnic groups in East Java, and the speech of all East Javanese, regardless of ethnic affiliation, expresses much the same values. That is to say, the choice of variant has much the same sociolinguistic meaning for the various non-Javanese groups in East Java as it has for Javanese themselves. In other words, the patterns of speech variation are part of a mosaic of behaviour patterns and can be seen as consistent with other patterns of behaviour in the community (dress, posture, gestures, attitudes, and so forth). Many principles of this ethical system are overtly recognised by the society and referred to in normal everyday interaction; others are adhered to, but operate below the level of consciousness. We consider that this demonstration of how speech variation expresses ethical values is of importance to the theory of sociolinguistic meaning and also to the theory of ethnographic description.

1.9. PLAN OF DISCUSSION

In Chapter Two the discussion will concern values which are reflected in choices and factors which elicit choices in terms of speaker, hearer and person referred to and in terms of setting, subject matter and key.

Chapter Three will discuss formal features of Indonesian which mark these values, Chapter Four will discuss Terms of Address and Pronominals, Chapter Five will concern Indonesian vis-à-vis other languages and Chapter Six will discuss the mixture of other languages into borrowings as linguistic variables.

CHAPTER TWO

VALUES AND SOCIAL FACTORS WHICH ELICIT CHOICES

2.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will discuss ethnic Javanese values as held by the Javanese of East Java. It is in the light of these values that we can understand the motivation for choice among speech variants, which is the focus of this study. We shall start by describing these values in general (see 2.1 ff.), then we shall illustrate how these values manifest themselves in conduct (2.2), cliches (2.3 ff.), sanctions and censures (2.4 ff.). Finally we shall discuss the factors which elicit code choice as related to these values (2.5 ff., 2.6 ff.).

2.1. JAVANESE VALUES

Javanese values are important for understanding and interpreting linguistic behaviour in East Java as the Javanese are the dominant group in East Java and set the tone and standards which other ethnic groups attempt to follow. Thus there has arisen in East Java a local set of values, which contrasts with values held by other ethnic groups in other areas, and which transcends the purely Javanese community in East Java. (There are, nevertheless, striking differences among the principal ethnic groups of East Java, differences which we discuss in later chapters, but this fact does not vitiate the fact that the Javanese ethnic values set the tone for the entire population and are widely imitated.) This adherence to a set of common values is what underlies regional nationalism, or a feeling of pride in the region, as is manifested, for example, in sports meets which involve East Java as an entity as opposed to other regions of Indonesia. The values which are discussed in the following sections are those which manifest themselves in speech.

By values is meant things in social life including ideals, customs, institutions and others for which the East Javanese people have an affective regard. These values can be positive, as for example, peace, harmony, solidarity, good manners, appropriate speech and others or negative such as cruelty, selfishness and so forth.

2.1.1. Urép mapan, THE BASIC VALUE

The basic theme which runs through Javanese ethical thought is the notion of an ordered universe in which everything is harmoniously placed in a location proper to it. This notion is the highest ethical and aesthetic good, throughout the Javanese areas, both in East and Central Java. In terms of this notion all values are given their justification and all conduct is judged good or bad. There are many terms which refer to this notion, and it is frequently referred to in speech. The root papan 'place' is common to many of them. There are two expressions which are widely heard which refer to this aesthetic good: empan papan 'everything in its place' and urép mapan 'live in harmony'. Examples of ways in which people refer to this notion in daily talk: a person who has a good job, is settled peacefully with his family in his own home, lives in harmony with his neighbours is said to have a life which is mapan: Uripé wés mapan 'His life is in harmony and order'. One who lacks something (e.g., not married, lacks a good job, lives at a location inconvenient to his work, fails to get along with his neighbours, etc.) is said to be not mapan: Uripé góng mapan 'His life is not yet in order'. A billboard which blocks traffic or ruins the view is said to be ga? mapan 'not in the right place'. Children are told to obey their parents so that their parents can place them in life properly: Manuto nè? dipapanno wong tuwo 'Do what you are told when your parents put you in your proper place'.

Other roots are also commonly used to refer to this notion. Genah 'proper, clear' is applied in the same sort of expressions. A bohemian whose life is not in harmony with the surroundings or who is not settled is said to be uripé ga? genah 'His life is not proper'. The name for the polite level in Javanese, Kromo, refers to this same notion. Kromo is from a Sanskrit borrowing which means 'in order, in its proper place'. Thus to speak in Kromo actually means 'to speak properly'. The honorific term for 'to be married' is also Kromo 'in order' when one is married.

The opposite of doing things in a mapan way is sembrono 'careless, in chaos' or ugal-ugalan 'careless, impudent'. Any action which destroys the feeling of urép mapan is said to be sembrono: a person who wears clothing not proper to the occasion, is said to be sembrono. A driver

who goes too fast or disturbs the traffic pattern is said to be *sebrono* or *ugal-ugalan*. A worker who does not address a lady with proper language is said to speak in a *sebrono* way. For example, a young man remarks on the politeness of the pedicab drivers:

1. sebab walopón tukang béca?, kadangkala meréka itu nda? brani ngomong sebronoan.

Although they are pedicab drivers, they often don't dare to talk out of line (lit. in a sebrono way).

2.1.2. VALUES WHICH DERIVE FROM THE BASIC VALUE OF *Urép mapan*

We point to three values which are important to all Javanese society and which are thought to contribute to the basic orderliness of life expressed by the formula *urép mapan*. The first of these is *tepo sliro* for 'taking into account others as human beings'. The *tepo sliro* value is expressed by the cliché *tepa?no nèng awa?mu dhéwé* which can roughly be translated by the Golden Rule 'Treat him as if he were you'. However, the ethical basis is different from that of the Western Golden Rule. The reason behind *tepo sliro* is that as you treat others in a particular way so will they treat you. If you are proper with others so will they be proper with you, and if you are improper, you will not be treated properly. This creates the basic desire for peace in the ideal life of *urép mapan*. This *tepo sliro* value is constantly referred to in speech. If a mother sees her children to be unkind to a playmate she might say, *Kon gelem a dingono?no 'Would you like it if he did that to you?'* or *Nè? kon séng dadl arè?é yo?opo 'How would you like it to be in his place (and suffer just like he did)?'*

People practice *tepo sliro* in their interaction with one another. For instance, a master should not ask his servant to do something he himself could not do. Because of the *tepo sliro* value, to some extent, people often meddle in other people's affairs. The reason is: other people might want some help, and if you were in that position would you not want others to take an interest?

If the value of *tepo sliro* is broken, one goes out of one's way to re-instate it. For example, a Javanese who is addressed rudely by a stranger may well respond with extreme deference and courtesy using the most polite language at his disposal. This will almost invariably force a favourable response. This sounds much like common sense or in accordance with Christian ethics, but the basis is quite different and the *tepo sliro* value applies over a different range of action than the Western Golden Rule. A clear example is speech choice determined by the *tepo sliro* value: Javanese speech levels are chosen with the thought

of the addressee's action. For example, a pedicab driver is of low status and certainly may be addressed in Javanese N. But a person of high standing may well prefer to address him on a higher level (K or M) in consideration of his self-view. The pedicab driver is certain to respond in K (the best he can muster). If he is addressed in N he might himself respond to his customer in N which breaks the rule of *toto kromo* '*proper conduct*' (a person of high standing should not be addressed in N by a stranger). In another example, a former teacher who used to address his students by their given names and speak in N now talks to one of his ex-students in K and addresses her by a higher status term of address *jeng* (literally '*little sister*'). The girl is given a higher status term because she has graduated and has married a person of rank comparable to that of the teacher. He could in fact continue the old usage (just as in Europe once one is in the T relation one normally does not go back to V). However, the girl has continued using K to the teacher, and failing to give her equal treatment would show lack of consideration for her feelings. By using K she forces K from the teacher in order to preserve *tepo sliro*.

This kind of phenomenon is normal in East Java where teachers frequently marry their students and thus the relationship changes from student-teacher to wife or husband of one's colleague (see also 5.4).

The second value which is considered essential to creating *urép mapan* is *toto tentrem* '*in order and at peace*'. This refers to everything being in its place and the elements so in place are in harmony. First, one is at peace with one's fellow man, quarrels are avoided and the outward appearance of good feelings and harmony are maintained at all costs. One is in theory not permitted to show anger and upset feelings (though they do come out). No matter how strong the hatred or tensions between two parties, they try to interact as if they were the best of friends. Confrontations are avoided. This is commonly expressed by the phrase *wani ngalah* '*dare to give in*'. From early childhood the idea of giving in is inculcated. Parents repeat expressions such as the following in order to teach them to '*dare to give in*': *Kowé wés gedhé, ngalaho karo adhimu* '*Give in to your younger brother, you are a big boy now*'. This characteristic reveals itself to outsiders as lack of competitiveness and awareness and is frequently remarked on by observers of Indonesian society. Children play totally non-competitive games and are remarkably gentle. Adults pride themselves on their lack of pushiness as expressed in *Aku ga? ngoyo ko?* '*I don't overdo it, you know*'. *Wani ngalah* to one's superior which is normally the best policy is a signal of good conduct appreciated and practised by members of East Javanese society to maintain the *toto tentrem* principle. Besides,

they are sure that their superior will be tepo slirro with them and will not be sawenang-wenang '*capricious in one's action*' in treating them.

Toto tentrem also implies inner calm. One maintains a front of composure although one may feel terribly upset. For example, a boarder who just received bad news from home reported this to his landlady with a slight laugh to indicate his calm acceptance. The landlady responded as follows:

2. Sarèh na? yo. Yo?opo éna?é, ibu mbantu sa?isané.
Keep CALM. Let's sit down and think what we can do.
I'll help you as much as I can.

Sabar '*patience*' in various situations is also important. One needs to face a problem with calmness and inner peace. It has also been inculcated from childhood in the members of East Javanese society that this quality of sabar be maintained. A small boy who is afraid of being left behind by his elder siblings and complains to his mother for not being able to put on his shoes fast is reminded by the mother:

3. Lha kon kesusu. Séng sabar to, engko la? gampang nganggéné sepatu.
You are impatient. CALM DOWN, you'll be able to put the shoes on easily.

The third value which is thought to contribute to urép mapan is andhap asor '*humility*'. The notion of andhap asor beseeches people to treat others with respect, especially those higher in status than themselves, and deport themselves with humility. Humble behaviour and granting of proper respect are considered essential to creating urép mapan, for if two persons who interact each retreat there will be no tension arising from competition for status. In other words, by practising andhap asor a person shows that he shows how to want ngalah '*dare to give in*', conduct which helps create the situation of toto tentrem, a situation which is essential to the urép mapan ideals (as discussed above). By behaving in an andhap asor manner one practices tepo slirro, i.e., takes into account how other people wish to be treated. This value manifests itself in all daily activities. For example, a guest manifests his andhap asor behaviour towards his host by not partaking of drinks and snacks which have been served until invited to do so. Even after having been invited, he will wait to be asked two or three times before he finally partakes, saying Sampón, sampón '*I have enough, thank you*'. Inggéh, inggéh '*Yes, yes*' and the like. The host manifests his andhap asor by implying that whatever is served is not good at all though ordinarily it is quite all right. The common expression is Monggo ihó dhahar sa?wontenipón '*Please help yourself to what we happen*

to have around'.

A person shows another person's higher status by walking behind. This is not necessarily physically performed - both may walk side by side, but the person who takes the lower place has a variety of gestures at his disposal which symbolises walking behind, and in fact one constantly sees people making these gestures which indicate their andhap asor attitude. The word for 'accompany' when one refers to oneself in talking to a person of higher status is ndhèrè? 'go behind'. 'Let's go together' in K is expressed as Monggo kulo dhèrè?aken which literally means 'let me go behind you'. This value is clearly reflected in speech. First it shows itself in the existence and use of the honorific forms. There are forms which give status to the interlocutor or to a person referred to, as for example, tìnda? 'go' and saré 'sleep' which are said of people of high status, whereas for ordinary people késah 'go' and tilem 'sleep' are used when speaking K or lungo 'go' and turu 'sleep' when speaking N. One says of oneself késah and tilem (or lungo and turu in N) except when one is using technonymy in talking with one's children such as in Bapa? saré to mean 'I sleep (literally: father sleeps)'. The elders are the people of honour at home. Further, there are verb forms which explicitly state that the agent is lower in status than the recipient, e.g., ndhèrè? 'accompany', matór 'say (or report) to a person of higher status' and many others.

This value is expressed not only by this special vocabulary, but also by the type of things one says. For example, one may greet a colleague in N with the expression: Arep tinda? end! 'Where are you going?' The addressee is honoured by choosing the word tinda?. In response to such a greeting a person shows humility by stating that what he is doing is not important at all. For example, he may respond: Ah, móng dólan-dólan waé ko? 'Oh, I'm just walking around' or the like. Another example is the frequency of expressions like Èlè?-èlè? ngéné (K: awon-awon meniko) 'Even though this is inferior, bad... (implied: it is all right for the likes of me)'. This expression is translated into Indonesian and is used frequently in the colloquial varieties of Indonesian. For example, in response to praise of a ring, a young man says:

4. Jelèk-jelèk gini pemberian pacar lhó.
 EVEN THOUGH IT'S UGLY, (for me it's fine) my girl friend
 gave it to me.

This same andhap asor behaviour shows itself in whatever code one is employing. For example, Javanese honorific terms are borrowed into Indonesian as in the case of an army captain who is talking to a colonel's daughter. He uses Kromo Andhap forms in referring to the way the child addresses her father (thus honoring the father):

5a. Trós kamu matórnnya bapa? gimana?

Then, what did you TELL your father?

5b. Secara nda? langsung bapa? itu perlu diatur atas segala perbuatanmu, ya.

Indirectly, you have to TELL your father everything you did.

In another example, a housewife invites her husband's colleague, a non-Javanese, to come to her place using the word gubug 'hut' to refer to her house (in place of rumah 'house'):

6. Wife: Nanti singgah betól lhó pa? ke gubug saya.

Be sure to come and see us (lit. come to our HUT).

Friend: O, iya, ya bu. Nanti malam dah.

Oh, sure. Tonight, okay?

The friend who has never been to her place before gives her status by remarking on the beauty of the house:

Friend: Wah ini istana bu, bukan rumah lagi.

My, this is a PALACE, not just a HOUSE.

In East Java a fourth value is strongly emphasised which is not given weight in Central Java. This is the value of podho-podho 'treating all alike' which is expressed in Indonesian as sama rata sama rasa 'We are all on the same level, we all feel the same (equal share for everybody)'. This is an outgrowth of the notions of tepo sliro and andhap asor: 'being humble and treating others as one would treat oneself'. In Central Java the notion of urép mapan implies that everyone has a place in harmoniously ordered universe and that this harmony is established and maintained by staying in one's place and the notions of inequality and unequal treatment take precedence over the notion of podho-podho 'treating all alike', which is predominant in East Java. In East Java status is reckoned in terms of occupation, attainment, wealth, ethnicity, age and some other factors. Birth, which is of overriding importance in Central Java, is given little weight. The East Javanese pay equal respect to all human beings through the value of podho-podho.

According to this value a servant is not termed abdi (as in Central Java) which evokes visions of court retainers, but rather, by the term which refers to a wage labourer: buróh (N and Indonesian) or berah (K). This usage promotes the value of podho-podho. Good service of long standing can be promoted into a kind of family relationship. An old servant who has served her master more than one generation, for example, may speak Ngoko to the master's grandchildren and is commonly addressed as mbah 'grandparent' by them. In East Java most servants address their master pa? (lit. 'father') and their mistress bu (lit. 'mother')

regardless of age, instead of *ndoro kakóng* and *ndoro putri* 'lord and lady' as is still practised in Central Java. Out of thirty servants interviewed in Malang, only one uses the latter. She happens to be an old widow originating from Madiun, a city at the west end of East Java (see map), who has been serving Central Javanese masters. She thus maintains the Central Javanese usage.

Gós short for *Radèn Bagós* (lit. 'handsome prince') is a term of address for boys of high status in Central Java. In East Java, however, the term *gós* is commonly used by adults of whatever status to refer to or address a boy regardless of his family background. In Central Java *gós* is used to address or refer to a boy of high status by high status people while lower status people usually address such a boy as *dèn*, short for *Radèn* 'a title of nobility'.

Central Java distinguishes *yu* and *mba?* as terms of address for females of the same generation as the speaker. *Yu* is given to low status people and *mba?* to high status people. In East Java the term *yu* also indicates intimacy, not always low status while *mba?* indicates greater distance, not high status. One may address a young woman in the market as *mba?* in East Java whereas in Central Java the common address for such a person is *yu*. However, in the term for mother the distinction *mbo?* 'low status mother' and *bu* 'high status mother' is adhered to in East Java as well as in Central Java.

To give just one illustration of how such a term of address is actually used in East Java, in the following is an extract from a conversation between a sixty-five-year-old servant who has served a family for two generations and the grandson of her original master in N:

7. Boy: *Klambiku kaos abang nang ndi mbah?*
Where is my red knitted shirt, GRANDMA?

Maid: *Ndhè? ra? klambi kónó gós.*
In the wardrobe, over there, SONNY.

In Central Java the term *mbah* may still be used in a similar situation. However, the maid will normally respond in *K* (a good *K* too since she must have learned a great deal of *K* from her master and his family), and addresses the boy *dèn*.¹

2.2. EXAMPLES OF CONDUCT WHICH ARE JUDGED IN TERMS OF THESE VALUES

The above described values show themselves in every aspect of human conduct, linguistic behaviour and many others. Examples of these values

¹In C. Java people usually take a young maid servant and teach her how to do the household chores, take care of babies and children and teach her all good manners and the use of appropriate language including *K*.

as they show themselves in speech will be given at length in Chapters Three through Six. Here we shall give some other examples of conduct which are termed to be good or bad on the basis of these values. In East Java people judge other people's conduct before establishing a relationship which in turn affects their speech choice.

The first and most apparent of these modes of conduct is dress. It is not insignificant that throughout the hundreds of miles of the length and breadth of Java with its huge population there is almost no variation in the national dress. The majority of women, even today, throughout the entire length and breadth of the Javanese homeland wear the same articles of clothing, cut along similar lines, and confine themselves to a small range of colours and patterns, wear the hair in almost identical style, and as far as we can ascertain from old photographs the styles have not changed a bit in the past hundred years. To be sure, many women have taken to wearing Western clothing, but the scenes and settings in which Western clothing is allowed and the identity of persons who may wear Western clothing (or must wear it) is well established and one finds almost no deviance. To the extent that there is a choice, there are rules as to colours, styles, and other factors which are set for various activities, and a person who wears the wrong style for the occasion (e.g., bright colours to a funeral) is said to be destroying the peace on which the atmosphere of *urép mapan* is based. Schools through senior high require the children to wear uniforms. The reasoning behind this is to avoid the possibility that a child might come to class in improper clothing. All of this is summed up by the Javanese saying: *Adinéng busono nambahi ajinéng diri* 'Good and proper clothing promotes the standing of an individual (who is wearing it)'.

Walking and the way people move about in general is also determined by these values. A woman in Javanese dress, complete with accessories, is said to be *luwes* when her clothing shows that she adheres to the rules for clothing and walks in a graceful way (moves in the way which the clothing constrains). When one is walking one should pay attention to what is happening in his surrounding without other people being made aware of this fact. One does not turn one's head, nor does one walk fast and ignore other people. This kind of conduct is required because greeting and being greeted is a way of affirming that one is at peace and harmony with one's neighbours.

Physical acts which show one's position are given great weight. A person shows his humility by placing himself physically below his interlocutor: when conversing with one who is seated one seats himself or squats; in offering something one puts oneself beneath the person offered; when passing or walking near someone, one lowers himself. Status

is recognised in other ways as well. Whatever one does in regard to a person of higher status, one must ask permission in advance. For example, when one wishes to express one's intention to one's elder, one must ask permission to do so beforehand, or excuse himself for bringing up the subject. An attitude which shows deference is termed sungkan '*feeling of embarrassment in the presence of a person of higher status*'.¹ A guest feels sungkan to accept food which has been offered. An inferior feels sungkan in approaching a superior for a favour and shows this by beating around the bush until the superior can guess his intention. A person who is sungkan is not relaxed in his speech or mannerisms, while a person who is the least sungkan among the interlocutors is more relaxed in his speech and mannerism. An example of how this feeling demonstrates itself is illustrated in quotations 303; 304 (see 6.2.1.1) in which the speech of the person highest in rank is full of folksy allusion, colloquialisms and Javanese loans, whereas the speech of the person who has to show a great deal of sungkan sounds serious and formal (almost with no colloquialisms). If the second speaker uses the folksy intimate style or the first, his audience would most surely think that he is ignorant of the devices by which one shows one's sungkan, and if he fails to do so it must be because he does not know how.

Another aspect of conduct which derives from these values is tolerance and consideration. People play their radios loud if there is reason for them to believe that their neighbours would want to hear it, but if not, they will play the radio softly or turn it off altogether. Thus a family who is conducting religious prayers will not be disturbed by a neighbour's blaring radio. A host who has an overnight guest will not eat his dinner before the guest is in the house. On the other hand, the guest will make it a point to be home early, so that the host will not be forced to wait for him. These are examples of modes of conduct which are considered to be good and justified in terms of contributing to the atmosphere of urép mapan '*orderly and harmonious life*'.

2.2.1. INDIRECTION AND HINTING

In order to preserve good feelings, to show one's humility or to show one's feeling of sungkan, indirection is employed. A superior does not tell an inferior how to act or disagree with him, but he communicates his feelings indirectly, and both of them, in order to preserve the good relationship are sensitive to the message.

Submission to superiors is expressed by the formula Ojo? madoni (N) or Jangan membantah (I) '*Don't argue, talk back*' or Ngalaho aé (N) '*Give*

¹In C. Java the term is rikóh or pakéwóh for a similar attitude.

in' and the like. On the other hand, the superior must realise he has been given in to. Otherwise he is said to be Ga? ngerti dikalahi '*He ignores somebody who has given in to him*' or even Nda? tau diri (I) '*Does not know tepo sliro*'. One who understands hints is said to ngerti éng sasmito '*get hints*'. An example: a guest on departure may say Ah udah malam ní bu '*It's late ma'am*'. This tells the hostess that she is the superior because the request to leave is put indirectly. The hostess then must react with a recognition that the guest wishes to leave.

Parents inculcate these values by doing to the children what the children should be doing to them. In the following example a mother indirectly tells her daughter to give her friend something to eat and drink as follows:

8. Sri, kancané dija? nang mburi kono.

(Literally: *Sri, ask your friend to go to the kitchen with you.*)

2.3. CLICHÉS, SAYINGS, AND EXPRESSIONS WHICH REFER TO THOSE VALUES

Members of East Javanese society learn these social values bit by bit from early childhood from the people around them, including parents, elders, peers and other members. Parents teach their children indirectly, by telling dongèng '*fairy tales and fables*' and other stories while putting them to bed or while making a long journey, or directly, by showing how to say thank you properly, how a girl should sit, how to behave at meals, how to address a servant, a friend, a stranger and others, what language variant to use for a particular occasion, and many other things. Parents and teachers reinforce one another in their efforts to teach juniors. They give compliments and rewards in all sorts of forms to their juniors whose conduct and speech shows that they have learned the values well, and remind those who forget to apply the rules in their conduct and speech, sometimes also giving them warnings or even reprimanding them. In addition to parents and teachers, people teach juniors directly or indirectly whenever they are in contact with them. Peers, for example, exert pressure on their fellows to conform to certain codes which reflect the value of adult society.

In East Javanese society norms belonging to a certain value are often taught in sanépo '*allegories*' many of which have become well known clichés or repeated expressions. Many of the dongèng are sanépo each with a lidèng dongèng '*moral of the story*'.

In the following sections clichés related to the essential values discussed above will be presented with illustrations.

2.3.1. EXPRESSIONS TAKEN FROM WAYANG KULÉT

The tradition of handing down values through wayang kulét '*puppet shadow performances*' shows itself in clichés which refer to the characteristics of the characters of the wayang stories, i.e., their personal appearance, disposition, conduct and speech, attainment and many other things which are compared with present-day individuals.

The most common expressions based on wayang stories concern human characters. The term kódo is used to refer to a person who fails to adhere to the principles when dealing with a person of high status. Such a kódo behaviour is marked by wrong choice of speech level of physical acts. A person who assumes such behaviour is said to be koyo? Werkudoro '*like Werkudoro*' (another name for Bima, the second of the Pandhawa brothers). Werkudoro always appears as a rough, uncouth person who uses N to everyone. Otherwise he has good qualities, but he is kódo.

The term satriyo '*knightly*' refers to the conduct of an ideal gentleman in the wayang stories and this term is extended to current conduct. It is considered satriyo to give one's seat to an elderly person on a bus or on a crowded train (cf. andhap asor). It is also satriyo to be fair in all sorts of dealings (obeying tepo sliro). It is satriyo to remain calm even in an emergency (showing tentrem), etc. A person who fails in one of these respects may be advised Mbo? séng nyatriyani thithi? (N) '*Why don't you act a bit like a gentleman*'.

A woman reflects the toto tentrem value by being faithful to her husband, efficient in her work, courageous in facing problems, aware of the duties and rights of women in general. These are virtues ascribed to Arjuno's second wife, Srikanthi. Women who have these virtues are said to be nyrikanthi '*like Srihandki*'.

The first appearance of the hero in a wayang story is in a special event called goro-goro which comes in a set place in every story. Goro-goro is characterised by violent earthquakes, storms, and tidal waves on earth, and similar tumult in kayangan '*heaven*'. These events cause the gods and heavenly beings to worry that something is the matter down on earth. In daily life something or somebody that causes a great deal of trouble is said to cause goro-goro (J) or gara-gara (I). A motorcyclist who has found out what is wrong with his stalled motorcycle for example remarks:

9. Gara-gara busi kotor, spéda motor mogo? trós (I).

BECAUSE OF a dirty spark plug the motorcycle keeps stalling.

In the wayang stories the villains are the buto '*demons*'. They show the values of society by engaging in disvalued conduct. For example a

mother may remind her children to behave by saying:

10. Mbo? ojo? pencils?an koyo? buto sé.

Don't jump about like a DEMON.

An example of the conduct of a buto is in its manner of eating and there is a special set of vocabulary which refers specifically to the ways a buto eats. If applied to human it is a direct comment on the impropriety of that person's way of eating: mbadhog '*eat greedily in large quantities*', nggaglak '*swallow in large quantities*', nguntal '*gulp down rapidly*', and many others. The value of andhap asor is maintained by eating in a way that one cannot be observed, i.e., munching should be slow, inconspicuous and silent. Eating is not considered a social event in itself and in public gatherings (parties, etc.) it is normal to grab something to eat, i.e., to go off in a corner to eat it and then join the company after finishing. Thus when one of these special words referring to the way a buto eats is applied to a human being, there are strong connotations.

Another example is the use of the term kótang Ontokusumo to refer to a strange article of clothing in the following remark which is addressed (jokingly) to a person wearing a vest. (A vest is something normally not worn in Java.)

11. Friend A: Pa? Darsono ki ko? ajeg nggaé jakèt ngono?an sé?
Why does Mr. Darsono always wear such a jacket?

Friend B: Jimat iku hó. Ontokusumo haré.
That's a talisman, you know. An Ontokusumo jacket.

In the wayang story the kótang Ontokusumo is a magical piece of clothing given to Gathutkoko (son of Bima) by the gods which enables him to fly like a bird. Although the remark is only a joke, it implies a deeper feeling, namely, that a special piece of clothing carries a certain social meaning which other members of society must note. Clothing is not a matter of individual choice alone.

2.3.2. POPULAR EXPRESSIONS

An average member of East Javanese society is aware of the values peculiar to the society. There is a special verb based on the root jawa which means '*act in accordance with Javanese values*'. The conduct and speech of a member which is in line with East Javanese values is called njawani '*has Javanese peculiarities*'. The term jawa in this usage implies the Javanese ethic, culture, way of life and many other things which distinguish Javanese from other ethnic groups. Every member of East Javanese society knows the significance of being Javanese and of knowing Javanese peculiarities. In the following example, a Balinese

young man talks with a Javanese acquaintance about his Javanese girl friend in Indonesian:

12. Balinese: ... tida? seperti wanita yang jaman modern ini
Dia maséh, maséh kejawaanlah istilahnya.
Unlike the women of modern times, she is still JAVANESE, as people usually say.

Javanese: Maséh Jawa itu.
She is still a real Javanese.

Balinese: Maséh Jawa dia. Maséh baé? dia.
She is still Javanese. She is still good (at knowing and practising Javanese values).

The Balinese identifies maséh Jawa 'still Javanese' with maséh baé 'still good' and disapproves of the way of life of the modern women who disregard traditional values.

The sungkan and andhap asor ways of treating others with honour and oneself with humility is often expressed in clichés such as tahu sópan santón (I) 'knowing ethical norms', or ngerti toto kromo (N), ada kesopanan 'there is politeness' and the like. In the following example, a Moslem preacher of Arabic descent who was born and brought up in East Java also knows quite well the significance of andhap asor and toto kromo for Javanese Moslems, as he states in his preaching (in SIEJ):

13. Seorang muslim yang tida? sópan santón, tida? toto kromo,
sebenarnya tida? Islam.
A Moslem who does not know and practice politeness according to (Javanese) ethical norms is not Moslem.

Conduct and speech which does not follow the norms is expressed in clichés such as rusa? 'chaotic', bobro? akhlanya 'immoral' and the like. In the following example a graduate student tells his friends in N about his carelessness, not knowing the toto kromo and sungkan feeling, during his first year at college, when he, instead of studying, sat in a public place staring at passersby:

14. És rusa? mblyèn és, gè? klas siji. Nè? sinau mónó góng mudheng.
I was a first class jerk. Completely rusa? (in chaos). I didn't yet know the value of studying.

The examples above are some of the popular expressions related to some social values learned and practised by members of East Javanese society regardless of origin. In daily activities a rather large number of such expressions are actually in use. Here too, the expressions put in Javanese are frequently used in casual Indonesian speech, just as clichés and expressions based on wayang are.

2.3.3. SLANG AND CLICHÉS WHICH REFER TO THE SAME VALUES

Young people like to express their ideas in their own way, often using terms common among themselves only. They learn the sópan santón and other positive values from adults who use ordinary terms and clichés, but in talking about these values among themselves they frequently use their own terms. A person who knows toto kromo will not get angry easily. He has to be sabar '*patient, reserved*' (see 2.1.2 on sabar), instead of iekas marah or pamarah (I) '*hot tempered*'. Among young people the slang njaéan '*hot like ginger*' is frequently used to replace pamarah.

The tepo sliro value is often reflected in young people, who like to tease one another, but who remain calm when being teased. In the following example a university student makes a remark about a friend nicknamed Karman Ransel '*Karman Rucksack*':

15. O, Karman Ransel. Nang ndi-ndi nggowo ransel iku. Wó iku nè? garap-garapan ngga? njaéan dilo?no.
Oh, that's Karman Rucksack. He carries a rucksack wherever he goes. You know what? He NEVER GETS ANGRY when we tease him.

Knowing the toto kromo with respect to clothing is often expressed in terms such as slalu rapi (I) '*always neat*', bregas (J) '*smartly dressed*' and many others. The young generation has made up new slang to express these same notions: gaya refers to '*good choice of clothes and movements*', mbois (probably from boyish) refers to '*youthful look in choice of clothes and conduct*', stil refers to '*good taste in choice of fashion*', nyèntrik (probably from eccentric) refers to '*originality and strangeness in choice of clothes and conduct*' and many others. These terms imply the up-to-date fashions which young people like and therefore also imply positive values for young people. What is good for them, however, is not necessarily good for their parents. In fact, a mini skirt which is considered mbois when worn by a girl (and thus is regarded positively by young people) is considered saru '*improper*' (lit. '*obscene*'), by parents when worn by an adult. In the following example the master of ceremony at a fashion show, a young man, announces the coming number:

16. Para hadirén yang kami mólyakan berikót ini kami hidangkan sesuatu yang laén dari pada yang laen. Sedikit nyèntrik, para hadirén....
Ladies and gentlemen, the following number is a special one. It's original, unique and different, ladies and gentlemen....'

Most of the audience in such a show are ordinarily young people. Consequently, the master of ceremony is usually a person who knows slang used by the young generation.

The young generation also use other made-up terms which can be related to values other than those connected with *toto kromo* in clothing: *sadés* refers to '*not understanding tepo sliro, strict, severe, etc.*', *mbelingan* or *nakalan* refers to '*a person who likes to cheat or be unfair in games, etc.*', *kemalan* refers to '*a person who is difficult to please*' and many others. For example, a high school student calls his maths teacher *sadés* because the latter reprimands him when he fails to submit his assignment and tells the student to remain in school and finish the assignment after school.

2.4. VALUES REFLECTED IN SANCTIONS AND CENSURES

Adherence to social values is enforced by sanctions and censures. Sanctions take the form of compliments and affirmations directed to various forms of conduct and to speech deemed proper. Censures warn a person of punishments for actions which run counter to norms established by Javanese social values. In this section we shall discuss sanctions and censures which primarily reflect themselves in speech. Examples of sanctions are thus: *Wah, pinteré* (N) '*How clever you are!*', *Bagus ya* (I) '*Very good*', etc. Censures would be expressions such as *Paké? tangan kanan* (I) '*Use the right hand*', *Ora pareng* (N) '*It's forbidden*', *Ora illo?* (N) '*It's taboo*', etc.

Public signs which reflect these values are publicly displayed. The regulations for the maintenance of public order reflect adherence to the ideal of *urép mapan*: *Tenang* '*Silence*', *Dilarang meludah* '*No spitting*', *Awas copèt* '*Beware of pickpockets*', *Dilarang memakal bikini* '*Bikinis not allowed*', *Jagalah kesópanan* '*Maintain good manners*' and many others.

2.4.1. SANCTIONS AND CENSURES ON CLOTHING

As mentioned in 2.2 above, clothing is a symbol of adherence to the values of *urép mapan*. A person, regardless of ethnicity, who wears traditional clothing in accordance with the rules which have been set forth is complimented and given sanctions expressed in *luwes* '*knowing how to move in traditional clothing*', *pantes* (J) or *pantas* (I) refers to the clothing that '*fits*' the person who wears it. The negative *ga? pantes* (N) or *ngga? pantas* (EJI) '*unsuitable, unfit*' is used to indicate censure. Short skirts are *pantes* '*becoming, proper*' for little girls but *ga? pantes* '*improper*' for adults. A woman often asks her husband

whether it is still pantas for her to wear a dress of a certain fashion and colour.

A strong censure against a person who wears something indecent is expressed in saru (J) '*obscene, indecent*' or ta? senonoh, ta? sópan (I) '*impolite, indecent*'. A person who does not care about neatness in clothing is censured by the use of nglomprot (J) '*sloppy*' or tida? rapi (I) '*not neat*'. On the other hand, a person who is always careful to dress in accordance with the set rule is given sanction as expressed in pinter dandan or pinter maca? (J) or pandey berdandan (I) '*good at dressing up*' and the like.

2.4.2. SANCTIONS AND CENSURES ON GESTURES AND POSTURES

As stated in 2.3 above, the way people move about also reflects these values. When the limits of acceptability are transgressed, people tend to comment or even to reject the behaviour. Sanctions are frequently given to children or foreigners or other newcomers to East Java who show awareness of these signals and their social meanings. E.g., Wah sudah bagus Indonésianya ya '*You speak Indonesian very well, you know*' does not necessarily imply its literal meaning, but rather sanctions all the communicative expressions in general, including gestures, facial expressions and postures which accompany the speech. (Or sometimes this kind of thing is said when a newcomer has in fact broken the rules for gestures, as an indirect censure. The speaker is in fact biting his tongue, trying to avoid giving overt censures.)

To use a thumb or an open right hand to show or point at something or someone is in accordance with the sópan santón rule but to point with the index finger is often considered impolite and is reflected in the expression Ojo? tudang tuding (N) '*Don't point (with your index finger)*'.

To walk very fast and ignore one's surroundings completely is called ngunculuk (J) and is considered ungentlemanly. To walk with the eyes looking in all directions is not considered knowing toto kromo either and is rejected as expressed in Ojo? jialatan nè? mlaku '*Don't walk with your eyes looking in all directions*'.

Gestures with both hands are restricted as Ojo? srawéyan nè? ngomong (N) '*Don't talk with your hands*'.

Ndhingklu? or temungkól (J) or tundu? (I) '*look at the ground*' is a polite signal, symbolising the awareness of sungkan and toto kromo principles whereas ndhanga? (J) '*to look up*' suggests arrogance.

Standing with the arms at the sides or with one hand on top of the other in front of the body, called ngapurancang (J), is a good posture while malangkeré?, methènthèng or methèngkèlè? (J) or bertola? pinggang (I) '*akimbo*' when talking to somebody is considered contrary to the

sungkan feeling and suggests arrogance, pretension, over-confidence, and the like.

We note that the terminology for these gestures and postures is mostly Javanese, for many of them do not have Indonesian equivalents. In colloquial Indonesian these Javanese terms are borrowed while in formal Indonesian they might be either translated or cited and explained. Non-Javanese normally do not talk about these things.

2.4.3. SANCTIONS AND CENSURES ON OTHER TYPES OF CONDUCT

Reception of guests, for example, is an area of conduct in which traditional values are shown. A host shows *andhap asor* by offering his visitor a better seat than he takes for himself, a better meal than the daily meal he eats, entertains the visitor as much as he can by wearing better clothes than he usually wears, etc. In short, he makes the visitor feel honoured. The compliments for a good host include *pinter momong* (among) *tamu* (J) '*good at treating guests*', *pinter ladèn* '*good at serving guests*', *blatèr* or *grapya?* '*good at making the conversation smooth*' and the like. In the following example a mother talks with her son in their preparation to receive a visitor:

17. Mother: *Wong arané ono? dhayoh.*

As you know, we are having a visitor.

Son: *Maca?-maca?o séng apé? ma? yo.*

Please get dressed up, Mum.

Mother: *O, sawangané dhayohé konco. Ga? ngajèni awa?mu yo?opo.*

As it appears, the visitor is our friend. What will happen if we don't RESPECT him.

(The word for '*respect*' comes from the root *aji* '*intrinsic value*'. So *ngajèni* literally means '*give the intrinsic value*'.) When the visitor arrives and asks her not to put herself to too much trouble for his sake she responds:

Mother: *Ènten paribasané né? ènten dhayoh. Sógóhono jajan. Nè? kapan séng didhayohi angkóh la? mboten krasan dyayohé, kang.*

When you have guests the saying is, "Offer your guests snacks." If the host is indifferent the guests won't feel at home, will they?

What is important to note in this example is that a host who does not serve his visitor well is said to be *angkóh*. *Anghóh* implies an attitude of putting oneself above others; i.e., the guest is placed in the posi-

tion of an employee or inferior who is not supposed to be served by the superior (the host).

In accordance with the value of status recognition, one is not supposed to disagree with one's superior. Instead, one must hint or suggest a solution or an alternative. The common warning not to oppose the boss is *Ojo? madoni or ojo? mbantah 'Don't argue, don't disobey'* (see also *wani ngalah* and *indirection* in 2.2.1). A person who is *'good at getting hints as well as quick at learning new things'* is complimented as *gathe?an, ngertèn (J)* (see also 2.2.1).

Joking and teasing in East Java has the function of creating an atmosphere followed by the feeling of *podho-podho*. Thus joking and teasing is highly approved of in East Javanese society. A person who is *'good at cracking jokes'* is often complimented as *pinter mbanyol or ono? aé (J)* and one who is good at teasing others without hurting their feelings is complimented as *iso? aé nggarap wong 'You sure do know how to tease'*. Jokes and teasing often contain hints. One who is slow at understanding such a joke or teasing is humorously commented on as *Lamban (I) 'Slow', ga? cak-cek, ga? nangkepan, ga? gathè?an (J) 'slow, not quick at understanding hints'* and the like.

Following the *toto tentrem* rules by being obedient is highly appreciated in East Javanese society. The sanction *Arè? manutan 'an obedient child'* is given to a polite and obedient child whereas *Wong ndableg 'Stubborn person'* is the comment about one who likes to do things his own way, ignoring the common rules.

These examples illustrate common East Javanese expressions which serve to sanction valued behaviour or censure disvalued behaviour.

2.4.4. SANCTIONS AND CENSURES ON SPEECH

It is probably in speech that the values here described are most clearly and strongly reflected, and censures or sanctions directed at ways of speaking are very frequent in East Javanese society. A child who fails to make a polite request is apt to be immediately corrected by the parent as in *Matór séng apé? (N)* or *Bilang yang baé? (EJI) 'Say it (or ask for it) politely'*. A small boy who is restless and anxious to go home while accompanying his mother to see a friend for instance, gets the mother's approval as expressed in *Ayó? matór tante, nyuwón pamét 'All right, ask your auntie her permission to go home'*. *Matór* and *nyuwón* are KA terms *'say'* and *'ask, request'* respectively which imply honour for the addressee and humility for the speaker. In the following example a mother reminds her nine-year-old boy not to use baby terms any more, as she thinks it is time for him to start using ordinary speech commonly used by adults:

18. Mother: Mana mas Budi?

Where is your brother Budi?

Boy: Masé? bóbó?

He is still (nighty-night) asleep.

Mother: Masa? mas Budi bóbó? Bóbó? kan bayi?

How come your brother Budi is still "nighty-night"?

We say that only to babies, don't we?

Not just choosing the right codes but also grammatical corrections are frequent, for deviation from what is considered good speech act - i.e., a grammatical error - may have unfavourable sociolinguistic meanings. In the following example, the boy of example 18 in talking with his playmate about their marbles gets reprimanded by his elder sister for using the language incorrectly:

19. Boy: Tu di situ di bawah pot. Ambilen.

There, over there under that flower pot. Take it.

Sister: Apa itu ambilen Har?

What did you mean by ambilen, Har?

The boy has used the mixed form ambilen which consists of an Indonesian morpheme ambil plus a Javanese imperative ending -en. The sister reprimands him by repeating the mixed form. Such a mixture implies Peranakan Chinese ethnic identification or class membership of the non-educated Javanese (see 3.2.1.4). In the following example a character in a folk performance (ludruk) uses this sort of Javanised form for humorous effect:

20a: Ayó, ayó, ayó, hansép nè? ambè? wong lanang-lanang kasar
yo, tapi nè? ambè? wong wèdo?, ayó, ayó, mepet terós.
ngéléngno tapi dhè?é dhéwé usoho.

*Well, well, well, this militia man is rude towards men,
but with a woman he flirts, doesn't he? He reminds us to
behave ourselves while he himself is TRYING to win her heart.*

Here the Indonesian term usaha 'try' has been Javanised by replacing /a/ with /o/, an analogy with other Javanese forms where Javanese /o/ corresponds to /a/ in Indonesian cognates, e.g., rasa (I) and roso (J) 'feeling', hawa and howo 'weather', kaya and koyo 'wealth', etc. The audience laughs because this is a hyper-Javanism. It is an example of the type of disvalued behaviour, but of course, an exaggeration.

Many children learning Javanese are also aware of the importance of honorific terms. They often voluntarily ask an older person to check their speech. In the following example a ten-year-old boy who usually

speaks N with his siblings and Indonesian with his parents, tries to offer something to his father in K in the presence of his elder sister:

- 20b. Boy: Pa?, bapa? purón pelem pa??
Would you like a mango, Dad?

Turning to his sister he continues:

- Boy: iyo mba??
Is that right, Sis?

- Sister: Kerso.
(the correct KI form instead of puron).

Instead of giving the entire correct sentence, the sister gives him the correct honorific form only which is understood by the brother and repeats his offer correctly.

A phenomenon which occurs frequently in East Java (but rarely in Central Java) is the use of KI forms for oneself or the failure to use KI forms when necessary. For example, the janitor in the English department in Malang for instance is often heard to say:

- 21a. Ana? kulo mangké kulo dhawuhi (for kéngkèn) ngriko.
I'll TELL my child to go there later.
- 21b. Bukunipón sampón kulo paréngaken (for caosaken) ibu.
I GAVE the book to your wife.
- 21c. Jupri sawek dipón kéngkèn (for utós) pa? Bono.
Mr. Bono TOLD Jupri to run an errand for him.

Paréngaken and dhawuhi are KI forms which are used to honour an addressee or a third person but never kulo 'I', whereas kéngkèn is a K lexical item and not a KI form and therefore should be replaced by the KI utós 'order' to go with pa? Bono, a person of higher status than the janitor, the speaker.

Parents who want to remind their children not to get influenced by such usage may say: Nè? boso ojo? díwóla?-walé? 'Don't confuse the KI and KA' (lit. 'when you use K, don't reverse the forms').

2.4.5. CENSURES ON SALAH KAPRAH

Usage considered incorrect but actually so widespread that most of the speech community is unaware of or unable to avoid it is called *salah kaprah* (lit. 'wrong but common'). Careful speakers on their best behaviour avoid them. *Salah kaprah* are normal in casual speech. Parents and teachers often warn their children and students: Ojo? mèlo?-mèlo? *salah kaprah* 'Don't get influenced by the *salah kaprah* usage'. A number of exclamations to show surprise, for example, are of Arabic origin includ-

ing Astaga or Astagfirullah '*God forgive me*', O Allah '*Oh, God*', Alhamdulillah '*Thank God*', etc. Other exclamations which deviate from the real Arabic expressions are considered salah kaprah. An example of this is la ilia in the place of la ilaha ilallah '*There is no god but Allah*'. In the following example a character in a folk performance (ludruk) makes herself ludicrous by frequently employing recognised salah kaprah:

22. La ilah Tohér, aku nè? ndelo? bapa?mu, ga? suni? aku nè? ngéné.
*MY, Tohér, had I seen your father before I WOULDN'T HAVE
 LIKED him.*

Her jocularly concerning the statement is also reflected in her made-up slang ga? suni? for the form ga? sudl '*unwilling, detest*'.

Folk etymology can give rise to salah kaprah phenomena. The term murang '*to lack*' in Javanese is no longer in use except in murang toto '*lack of ethics*' and murang sara? '*lack of social norms*'. The latter is frequently replaced by mulang sara? (lit. '*teach norms*') and used in a salah kaprah way to mean '*lack of social norms*'.

Loan words are often adapted to a meaning quite deviant from the meaning in the original language. Such usages are considered salah kaprah. For example, priki '*forbidden*' is actually derived from the English term in soccer '*free kick*', a punishment imposed on the team whose member has violated a rule. When this happens the umpire blows the whistle. To Javanese ears the word priki is onomatopoeic and therefore is always associated with the sound of the whistle and violation, something which is forbidden to happen. Somebody who comments on a certain obscenity may say: Wah, priki itu ah '*Well, that's forbidden, you know*'.

2.5. FACTORS WHICH ELICIT CHOICES IN TERMS OF SPEAKER, HEARER AND PERSON REFERRED TO

A member of East Javanese society is not only expected to know the social values which form the basis for the social norms which control his conduct and speech, but also he has to learn the other social and cultural factors which determine his inter-personal relationships with other members and how these affect his conduct and speech in his interaction with others.

In daily interaction a person has to know his place in relation to the place of others in society. His place depends very much on his social status which, in turn, is determined by a number of factors including family and educational background, occupation, age, sex, marital status and many other factors as well.

In short, a person must know his place in relation to the other participants in order to apply the social values to which he and the others with whom he interacts adhere. For example, as the speaker he must give humility to himself and honour to others and reflect this in speech and conduct.

Since status is so important in daily activities and communications, East Javanese society provides its members with devices in speech which enable them to communicate recognition of their mutual statuses. For this reason, it is normal upon first meeting a person to make detailed inquiries about one's personal life - not only his name but also his occupation, family, age, income, place of residence, place of origin, and other very personal matters. These questions are appropriate and in fact required in order to obtain the status of one's interlocutor. A person whose identity and status is known will be treated differently from a stranger. By using the information thus collected, new acquaintances can infer one another's status and fit themselves into their proper role relationship.

A well-experienced member of society sometimes does not have to carry out a great deal of inquiry as above to make an approximate estimation of the other interlocutor's status. Personal appearance along with clothing, conduct and speech, is normally sufficient to provide an accurate estimate. For example, it is possible to distinguish a student from a motorcycle broker although both look mbois, both wearing blue jean jackets and dungarees, sun glasses, and be riding a motorcycle, but the broker wears a pair of sandals whereas the student wears a pair of shoes most of the day since sandals are not considered pantas '*proper*' at school.

2.5.1. ATTAINMENT

The most significant social factor determining a person's status in society is attainment as manifested in his occupation and wealth. The higher position or rank a person holds in his occupation the higher status he has in society.

Labour is inexpensive in East Java, so that an occupation which is based primarily on manual labour tends to be associated with low status. Students, for example, avoid blue collar work for income because in addition to the fact that such a job is poorly paid, it is not highly respected. It is in fact looked down on. Students and government employees who need extra income, may ngobyèk '*moonlight*' as public transportation drivers, part-time secretaries, photographers, brokers, tutors and other well-paying (and more respected) occupations. Highly skilled labour and specified professions which need years of training

after high school are considered to be the best occupations and to have high salaries plus generally special access to facilities and prerequisite. Such occupations give high status in society.

In daily life East Javanese culture obliges its members to incorporate status based on occupation in their relationships and communication with one another. A person has to show his feeling of *sungkan* in his conduct and speech towards his superior and other persons of higher rank. He has little freedom of choice in terms of address or reference. He has to address his superior or a person of higher rank *pa?* (lit. 'father') or *bu* (lit. 'mother') to show his *sungkan* and adherence to the principles of *toto kromo* (see *sungkan* in 2.2). On the other hand, a person of higher rank has more freedom in choosing terms of address and reference based on age for example, including *pa?* 'father', *bu* 'mother', *mas* 'brother', *de?* 'younger sibling' and many others. In the following example a young employee is talking with his friend about his brother-in-law who is a member of the executive board in the same office where the speaker is employed:

23. *ini sebenarnya fasilitas kaka? saya, pa? Domo.*
This place is actually given to my brother, MR. Domo,
as a perquisite.

He refers to his brother *pa?*, because he places himself under his brother's position as an employee towards his superior. Such a rule may be altered by other social factors such as degree of intimacy (2.5.6.1), family and marital connection (2.5.6), or setting (2.6.1). The young employee above, when talking with the brother-in-law at home uses *K* with honorific terms and addresses the elder brother *mas*:

24. *Mas, mangké dipón aturi mapak mga?yu jam kaléh.*
Brother, you are requested to pick up your wife (lit. my
sister) at two.

The person of higher status in this respect also has more freedom in choosing the language for communication. A language laboratory technician, for example, speaks with his colleagues and students in *N* but always speaks in Indonesian with his superior and the teachers through the latter often speak with him in *N* as well as Indonesian. Here, he does not have the freedom to use *N* as the superior and the teachers (considered higher in rank) do.

2.5.2. EDUCATION

Level of education is another factor which confers status. An indication of the status-conferring character of education is the context in which people talk of education. A tramp who is sitting in

front of a school building talks to a young man and indicates he is more than he appears to be on the surface:

25. Jelèk-jelèk saya dulu juga mahaséswa lhó mas.

I may look crummy, but I used to be a university student, you know.

The contrast between the expression arè? sekolahan 'an educated youngster' and arè? sembarangan 'just any youngster' suggests that educated persons are more highly regarded in society than the uneducated ones. The humorous but sometimes also contemptuous expression Sekolahé nang ngisor asem 'He gets his education along the streets under the tamarind trees (used to be planted along the roads)' is commonly addressed to a tramp, an urchin or any irresponsible person whose way of life, conduct and speech show lack of education. And an illiterate person is often referred to in N as ga? ngerti po béngkong 'He does not know how to read or write even a crooked p'. Further, people have more regard for persons with academic titles like Sarjana Hukóm (abbreviated SH) 'Master of Law', Dokter gigi (Dg) 'dentist', Insinyór (Ir) 'Master of Engineering' and many others each of which is commonly attached to a given name for official purposes. Among applicants, for instance, an additional academic title gives the holder a better opportunity than those who lack such titles. Certain offices insist that such titles be attached to the names of the holders, so that they may be treated in accordance with the office regulations. (See also Chapter Four on Titles.) In the following example a college student who supports himself by working as a pedicab driver in the evenings (unusual since students normally avoid manual labour), tells his new acquaintance that he has some pride which distinguishes him from the other ordinary uneducated pedicab drivers - namely, that he is a student determined to pursue his goals:

26. Dia cita-citanya hanya memperjuangkan sesuap nasi untó? keluarganya dan untó? kehidupan selanjótnya. Saya skarang memperjuangkan menunjang hldóp saya di sini. Sesuap nasi, ya jelas. Slain itu mempunyai cita-cita untó? studi. Tu itu kemenangan saya.

The ambition of an ordinary pedicab driver is to struggle for a living for his family and his future. I'm now struggling for my life here. Of course I have to eat, but further than that I have an ambition to study. That makes me different from ordinary pedicab drivers.

2.5.3. AGE

Age is another social factor that merits a deferential treatment in East Javanese society. Elders have been traditionally accorded with respect and this is everywhere overtly stated. A young person of superior rank will treat an older inferior with more respect than his younger inferior. To the former he may ask a favour by saying *Tolong kerjakan ini* '*Please help me to do this*' whereas to the latter he may say *Kerjakan ini ya* '*Do this, OK?*' The request form *tolong* (lit. '*help*') indicates a deference directed at the older employee. The employer might just as well order the younger one without using *ya* '*Okay*'. The addition of *ya* in this case indicates that he considers the command a favour thus conforming to the principles of *tepo sliro* (see 2.1.2).

Among graduate students, the older and married students are usually treated with deference by the younger classmates who address the former as *pa?* '*father*' or *bu* '*mother*' and receive *dé?* '*younger sibling*'. The younger students are freer to use *N* or a mixture of *N* and *EJI* when talking among themselves but usually use *EJI* when talking with older students.

At home children are taught to give in to their younger siblings (see 2.1.2), while the younger children are taught to respect their elders, including the elder siblings. The common warning given to a child who has not learned this mode of conduct is *Ojo? ngilama? ambè? dólor tuwo, ndha? kuwalat* '*Don't be impolite towards elder siblings or else a curse will be imposed on you*'.

Respects towards elders is also reflected in the usage of second personal pronouns. For example, the *N* *kon* or *koen* '*you*' is commonly addressed to siblings or inferiors while *peno* '*you*' is normally addressed to parents, husbands and older colleagues.

2.5.4. SEX

In East Java men, on the whole, are given deference over women. This is shown in every aspect of conduct and speech. In speech this is indicated by the fact that the wife will address her husband with honorific terms (*KI*) but the husband will not do so for his wife. In other conduct: older children are taught to wait for their father before beginning to eat, but they need not wait for the mother. If the father is late, they must put food aside for him before they may begin eating, so that he will not eat the children's leftovers. In Javanese the food which is put aside this way is called *pintan*. The mother is also treated with respect at home, but next after the father.

At the wedding party the best seats are reserved for male guests and women get second choice. There are always enough seats for the men while the women and children may not get seats. The male guests are served first. Further, some honoured guests are invited to give the wejangan '*advice to the newlyweds*' but this must always be a man.

Wives are referred to by their husbands' names or title. Mr. Bambang's wife for example, is addressed as Jeng Bambang '*Mrs.* (lit. *little sister*) Bambang' by older people, Mba?yu Bambang (lit. '*elder sister*') Bambang' by her younger friends and Bu Bambang (lit. '*mother* Bambang' by her husband's subordinates and people of lower status, while Ibu Bupati '*Madame Regent*' is a very common address for the regent's wife in a district.

Daughters are trained to be good housewives and mothers while sons are expected and trained to be leaders, head of the family and the like. An ideal daughter is one who is ayu, pinter, manót, tór pinter nyambel '*pretty, intelligent, obedient, and on top of everything, a good cook* (lit. *good at making red pepper sauce*)'. On the other hand the kudangan '*expectation*' of every parent regarding their son is pinter sekólah '*good in school*', pinter golè? dhuwét '*good at earning money*', dhuwór pangkaté '*high in rank*', luhór drajaté '*high in status*' and the like, in which personal appearance and a certain disposition are considered non-essential. A woman's way of life is popularly said to be dependent on her husband: Swargo nunót, nroko katót '*She follows him to heaven, gets taken along to hell*'.

2.5.5. STATUS BY BIRTH

East Javanese people in general recognise individuals more on the basis of their own attainment rather than on their parents' status. The absolute status which used to be handed down to younger generations common among nobility is not now of great moment. The titles of nobility such as radèn mas for males and radèn ayu for females and many others are sometimes still attached before given names in written forms but they are not used to treat the holders with deference by others. If they are respected in society it must be on account of achievement. Such titles are not as popular as the academic titles.

The ludró? folk play which usually portrays very accurately the life of the East Javanese people, including their speech habits, rarely uses any of these titles.

Servants, pedicab drivers, vendors do not use dèn (short for radèn) to address their masters and customers (cf. podho-podho value 2.1.2). Instead they use pa?, bu, jeng, mas and many other ordinary terms of address for ordinary people.

The terms priyayi and mriyayèni are used to mean gentleman and act like a gentleman. Priyayi is often used to refer to educated people and professionals whose jobs need a great deal of serious training. Once in a while a non-educated person is heard to express something like priyayi tentara '*gentleman in the army*' or even priyayi ndéso '*high status person from the village*' (cf. Kuntjaraaningrat 1964, 139 ff.) and the like.

2.5.6. FAMILY AND MARITAL CONNECTIONS

Family ties are still strong among members of East Javanese society and the presence of family ties influences conduct and speech. For example, a person may ask a friend who happens to be very intimate with a person of high status: Ko? baé? skali sama pa? Yunós. Maséh famili ya '*Is Mr. Yunus a relative of yours? You two seem to get along very well*'. The expression baé? skali (lit. '*very good*') implies intimacy in conduct and speech when used in such a context. The two relatives may have been hugging one another instead of just shaking hands, using Javanese instead of Indonesian, addressing each other mas '*brother*' or om '*uncle*' to the elder or higher status one instead of the formal address pa? '*father*', employing slang and many other similar features.

New acquaintances can become good friends after they find out that they are relatives even though only mambu-mambu '*very distantly related* (lit. *by smell*)' or even kadang katót '*(related by virtue of having relatives who are married to each other)*'.

A Javanese saying which reflects importance of family ties is Mangan ga? mangan nè? kómpól '*Whether you eat or not (is not important) so long as you are together*'. It is considered a virtue to marry a distant relative, in that it brings together people who may otherwise forget each other. This is expressed by the saying ngómpólno balóng pisah (N) '*gather the separated skeletal bones together*'.

The N Javanese expressions Apamu to iku '*How is he related to you*', Iso opo sampéyan ambe? bu lurah '*How do you and the village head's wife address one another*', or Pernah opo sampéyan ambè? dhè?é '*How are you related to him*' are very common among Javanese who mostly find it hard to translate, even into colloquial Indonesian.

In accordance with toto kromo principles, a person has to show his feeling of sungkan and toto kromo attitude towards a relative who is luwéh tuwo awuné (lit. '*whose ashes are older*') - i.e., older according to their common family tree, even though the addressee in actuality may be a great deal younger than the speaker. Their consciousness of kinship ties is reflected in the use of various kinship terms for people who are distantly related. To give some illustrations: pa? dhé

'sibling or consanguine of parent who is older than parent', mbah warèng 'grandparent six generations removed', putu canggah 'one's grandchild five generations down', bésan 'a person who is married to one's spouse's sibling' and many others.

2.5.6.1. Intimacy

A factor which influences speech choice is degree of intimacy. By intimacy is meant the feeling of being close and not feeling sungkan towards the other. Intimacy reflects itself in Javanese speech by choice of N. In the following example, a young man who feels uncomfortable in communicating with his new acquaintance in KM asks the addressee to switch into N so that their relationship might become more relaxed and intimate (he uses KM in his invitation):

27. Lha sa?nikl ngèten, nè? omong-omongan athé? boso mboten éna?
 Sa?nikl bloso mawon, ngóko mawon nggéh?
Look, it's uncomfortable for us to speak in Kromo Madyo.
Why don't we switch into an ordinary level, the Ngoko, Okay?

The acquaintance accepts the invitation and they continue their chat in N in a more relaxed and intimate way. Before departing one of them invites the other in N:

- Nè? ngónó só? Kemés aé sampéyan nang nggonku yo?
In that case, why don't you come to my place this Thursday?

Colleagues who spend a great deal of time together at work tend to become more intimate than those who do not. Since any kind of relationship reflects itself in the conduct and speech of the people involved, colleagues whose relationship is intimate see one another as friends more often than those who are not intimate. The former stop to talk a little when they run into one another in the street while the latter may just exchange greetings. Further, friends employ more casual speech and overtly express deference to occupational status only when the social situation so requires. This contrasts with persons whose relationship is less intimate than that of friends.

People who are intimate or have some family connection (real or pseudo) are treated as one of the group and thus need to be shown consideration of a sort that outsiders need not be shown. For survival in everyday life being in the in-group together with those who have some power or other is of highest importance. It is for this reason that people strive to attain or maintain connections of intimacy or family with as wide a circle as possible. People find that life is easier when they have connections with people from whom they require something

or have some sort of control over their lives. A customer at a restaurant will get better service if he is known to the proprietor. In a government office the regulations are not as strictly applied to friends and relatives as to strangers. The saying for this is *statblat kalah ambè? sóbat 'friendship has precedence over regulations'*. People cannot conclude a business deal unless they are intimate or related, and thus often a middleman who can claim intimacy with both parties must be found in order to conclude a deal. Without *kónèksi 'connections'* one can get little accomplished, from joining a sports club to obtaining a driver's licence. This importance of relationships and intimacy also reflects itself in speech choice, as we shall see (see Code choice in 5.3.2).

2.5.6.2. Pseudo-relational Links

People who have become intimate adopt an attitude and a conduct normally expressed towards relatives. They begin to use speech of the sort one uses with relatives, get together with these people on the same occasions one would get together with relatives, travel together and the like. People who have been thrown together by circumstances will tend to adopt these attitudes vis-à-vis one another. For example, a landlady will tend to regard a person who boards in her house as her own child, and the boarder will tend to act towards and regard her as his mother. Although such people have adopted a relationship of that of relatives, the pseudo-relational links will not necessarily override other factors which determine conduct. An example is the case of a young doctor and an older white-collar employee who get to know one another well. They start using reciprocal *pa?*, but after they become good friends the younger continues using *pa?* while the older friend switches into *na?* 'son'. However, often the older addresses the doctor as *na? dokter 'my son, the doctor'* especially when there is a third person present.

The relationship of two close friends is expressed by *seperti sowdara kandóng (I) or koyo? dóló?r dhéwé (J) 'like brothers or sisters'*. They usually regard their friend's family as their own relatives and involve themselves in the network of family relationships of their friend. Here one places himself among the members of his good friend's family according to age. He addresses the friend's siblings older than himself as *mas 'brother'* or *mba? 'sister'* and those younger than himself *dé? 'younger sibling'*. He regards his friend's parents as his own parents or uncle and aunt and indicates his conduct and speech accordingly. At *Lebaran '(the biggest Moslem holiday)'* when the family traditionally gets together and the younger relatives visit the older ones to ask for

blessings and forgiveness, younger friends go to see older friends for the same purpose.

2.5.7. ETHNICITY

Ethnic identity of the speaker, addressee and even the ethnic identity of a third party present affects speech choice. For one thing, each ethnic group is identifiable by the language or variety it uses. (See 1.3). In general, within the same ethnic group, the ethnic language is used (peranakan Chinese use PCI), while a variety of Indonesian is addressed to people belonging to other groups than their own. Very often an interlocutor tries to speak a little of the other interlocutor's variety to win a favour or as an indication of intimacy. In the market, for example, people try to speak a little of the vendor's variety as a means of pretending to be one of the in-group and thus get a good price.

Ethnicity is an important indicator of speech choice and we shall have a great deal more to say on this subject in the succeeding chapters.

2.6. FACTORS WHICH ELICIT CHOICES IN TERMS OF SETTING, SUBJECT MATTER, KEY AND PURPOSE

There are other social factors which determine speech choice and conduct which we shall discuss in the framework of the ethical principles which underlie this conduct.

2.6.1. SETTING AND SCENE

The **setting**, the place and the physical environment in which something takes place affects speech choice. SIEJ (standard Indonesian) as the official language is primarily used for official and business purposes in places where the official and business dealing normally takes place. In government offices, in the courtroom, in class, at the banks, at department stores, at the ticket windows, at the doctor's office and in similar places this standard variety of Indonesian is used; at home, at the school cafeteria, in the street, at a family gathering and in many other similar places other varieties of Indonesian and Javanese are normally used. Besides these two groups of settings there are also settings where there is a choice between Indonesian and Javanese (and PCI) as at the market place, at social gatherings such as celebrations, funerals or other unofficial activities. Further, a social situation in which the speaker wishes to make reference to such a place, or in talking about activities which normally occur in such settings, the proper code - Indonesian or Javanese is used. Indonesian may be a device for creating for the moment an atmosphere of officiality

while Javanese or other local languages (or PCI) is the vehicle for creating an intimate home atmosphere. For example, the Javanese students who used Indonesian at a meeting in one of the schoolrooms switched into Javanese with one another outside the schoolroom. The Peranakan Chinese who attended the same meeting switched into PCI when they talked with one another after the meeting was over. In the following example a Javanese moviegoer in front of the ticket window says in EJI:

28. Klas satu dua, minta? tengah, mas.

Two first class tickets for seats in the middle.

Later while walking to the entrance he turns to his wife in N:

Trós mlebu waé yo jeng, wés mèh wlwét ko?.

Let's go straight inside, dear. It's about to start, you know.

The chairman at the meeting of a social club chats and jokes with a group of members in N. Then to begin the meeting she stands up and says in EJI:

29. Bapa?-bapa? dan ibu-ibu, mari kita mulai saja ya.

Ladies and gentlemen, let's start the programme, shall we?

The choice of speech is sometimes between Indonesian as used in class (SIEJ) and the variant of Indonesian with a great deal of slang and other features commonly used outside of class (EJI). This choice is made when people of different ethnic groups or of different statuses are together. In the following example a group of college students who run into their teacher at the school cafeteria after class complain in EJI:

30. Wah angèlé pa?. Bikén ujian ko? sukar-sukar sé pa?

My, it was REALLY HARD, Sir. WHY did you make such a difficult test, Sir?

The teacher responds in the same style:

Lha kamu pandèynya cuma? sir-siran, so?al-so?al dari buku gitu ya ngga? ada yang èthos.

Well, you are good at FLIRTING only. No wonder nobody is ABLE TO SOLVE the problems which are taken from the textbook.

Angèlé 'how difficult', sé 'you know', sir-siran 'flirt', and èthos 'be able to solve' are Javanese slang terms inserted into the Indonesian they are using at the cafeteria to contrast with the rather stiff Indonesian they have used in class before. Different kinds of setting thus dictate to the participants the use of different codes which may be different styles or may be different languages.

A particular way of viewing one type of setting is called *scene* which also dictates the language choice. The school auditorium which is normally used for lectures conveyed in formal Indonesian in the morning can be turned into a nice hall for entertainment where the same students and teachers who attended the lectures in the morning gather in the evening for a party. The following example comes from a farewell party. One student gets up and says in SIEJ such as would be used in class:

31. Kami akan menyanyikan sebuah lagu untú? pa? Domo, supaya pa?
Domo tetap ingat kepada kami semua yang ditinggalkan.
*We will sing a song for Mr. Domo which will remind him
of us (who are left behind).*

Another student comments in N (something which would never happen in a lecture):

- Ojo? nangés lho pa?
Don't cry, teacher.

The party goes on in a very relaxed and friendly way with jokes in Indonesian and Javanese.

The Ketua Rukon Kampong (RK) 'Head of a neighbourhood' who holds a meeting at his place attended by the elders and the youth leaders talks to younger participants in N before the meeting starts:

32. Tólong séléhno kórsi nang pa? Jema?én papat, nang bu
Dikdo lóró.
*Somebody go, borrow four chairs from Mr. Jemain and two
from Mrs. Dikdo, please.*

In contrast with this scene, soon after the meeting starts he asks the audience in SIEJ, as would be used in a formal meeting:

- Untú? pembentukan panliya tujuhbelas Agustós ini, dari piha?
pimpinan terlebih dulu kami menginginkan bebrapa pendapat.
*To be able to establish a committee for this seventeenth of
August celebration, first of all we, the administrators, would
like to get some suggestions.*

2.6.2. SUBJECT MATTER

With Indonesian as the official language, the language of schools, of offices, of big businesses, etc., matters which refer to these things are discussed in Indonesian, whereas matters of less official dealing can be discussed in Javanese, PCI or the languages of the immigrants to East Java. There are innumerable examples in daily life of how the same participants may speak one moment in Indonesian and the next in Javanese or another language or even switch in mid-sentence as the subject matter

changes. In some cases this is a matter of evoking an official scene as discussed in 2.6.1 above, but often it is just that certain subjects call forth a switch to Indonesian, etc. In the following example a high school teacher talks with his friend, a teacher of another school, basically in N but switches into Indonesian when he is talking about student admissions in his school. (The underlined part is N.):

33. A: Trós sidané nrima brapa klas?

THEN, how many students (classes) did your school FINALLY admit?

B: Pagi nam soré tiga. Sratós lima yang kita trima itu kita maséh menola? dlanan puluh lima. Wong séng ga? lulós satós sangangpulóh.

Six classes in the morning and three in the afternoon. Besides the one hundred and five students we admitted there were still eighty-five applicants rejected, because there were one hundred and ninety applicants who failed.

2.6.3. KEY

The term key refers to the tone of the speech act. The tone might be serious, familial, comic, or the like. In East Java, key is of great importance because each speech act has a key which is deemed proper to it. However, we find constant switches in tone in normal speech and these switches preserve the basic key but momentarily break the tension which undeviating adherence to a serious tone might cause. These switches reflect the societal values which we have discussed above. For example, the value of podho-podho leads to a need to establish a feeling of intimacy. One means of establishing this feeling is to change the tone in a serious, guarded key to that of uninhibitedness, frankness or the like. This may be expressed by profanity or euphemistic substitutions for it such as diampót (something like English 'fudge' for a more serious term), jangkré? 'cricket', télo 'sweet potato' and the like, most of which are mild profanities which give a tone of friendliness and move the conversation into a lighter tone. An example from the conversation of two friends who have not met in a long time shows the use of mild profanity in giving a light tone to the conversation:

34. A: Jangkré?, nang endi aé kon iki?

WHERE THE HECK have you been all this time?

B: Léé, gómbal, kon és sogeh ta, lall ambè? aku?

JEEZ, now that you're rich, you've forgotten me, haven't you?

A lightening of the tone is also expressed by the choice of terms of address. For example, the term of address like *mas* or *ca?* '*brother*' gives a less solemn tone than *bapa?* '*father*'. Further, choice of lexical items also reflects the key. For example, the term *goblog* means '*stupid*' and is humourless and thus would be used in a serious key, whereas the term *bodong*, which has the same meaning is considered funny, and would be used to lighten the key.

Choice of the proper key is a good device to preserve *toto tentrem*. A switch of tones is another device to preserve this feeling in that the key is basically the same but tensions created by the given key of solemnity, formality or the like can be broken by a momentary switch in tone. For example, a switch in tone can convey a message without destroying personal relationships. A superior normally discusses office procedures in a formal, serious key. However, if he wishes to criticise or somehow convey that the inferior must change his ways he might lighten the tone. In the following example the superior puts a command into a hypothetical question form and adds the colloquial intimate forms *Gimana*, *ya* '*What about it?*' to lighten it:

35. Wah, surat-surat ini harus dikirim besok? ko? belum siap semua. Gimana, ya?

Well, these letters are supposed to be on the mail

tomorrow but now they are not finished yet. What shall we do?

This way the speaker is able to convey the order without underlining his superior status. Put in such a tone the order has the feeling of a request, and the inferior may not refuse, not because he is inferior, but because he feels sungkan.

2.6.4. PURPOSE

In addition to engaging in speech events as they randomly occur in daily life, members of East Javanese society often engage in speech events which are socially governed - i.e., parts of the ceremonies which society requires members to go through. These kinds of ceremonies are characterised by pre-determined speech forms. For example, a newcomer to a certain neighbourhood must make a formal visit, first to the most respected person there and then to the other neighbours as pointed out by the person first visited. These ceremonious visits are called *sonjo* (N) '*pay a visit of respect to a neighbour*'. Such a significant visit is distinguished from *nonggo* '*visit for pleasure*' in which '*gossips have precedence over doing household chores*'. A person who does not conform to this *toto kromo* is said to be *ga? ópèn nang tonggo* (N) '*indifferent to neighbours*'. The common goal of preserving the *toto tentrem* in the

neighbourhood is also manifested in conduct, such as taking part in kerja bakti 'voluntary work', in preparation for communal celebration - e.g., making rice cakes, and the like.

Individuals often have to make little sacrifices to do something in which they have no interest, but which is deemed necessary, e.g., to attend a party, join a club, and the like. This kind of sacrifice is often termed ngguyup! tonggo (N) 'for the sake of the common good of the neighbours'.

In kerja bakti 'voluntary work' the common language used is N, especially when addressed to a group of people. The following example is taken from the conversation of a group that is erecting a bamboo gate for decoration to celebrate independence day. The audience, consisting of younger as well as older individuals than the speaker, is given instruction in N:

36. Sé? lor kurang munggah thithi?. Hóp.

The north end (of the gate) needs tilting. That's enough.

Upon completion of the work, the same young man who gave the instruction walked home with an elderly neighbour and talked in K while the older man responded in N:

37. Young man: Mangké sonten mérsan! bal-balan pa??

Are you going to watch the soccer game this afternoon, sir?

Old man: Yo ngkó nè? ga? udan na?. Wés tuwu kl wedl udan.

Well, yes, if it doesn't rain, son. Now I'm an old man, I'm afraid of the rain, you know.

An interlocutor who has a certain goal in mind usually speaks and acts more nicely than the other interlocutor who does not. For example, a daughter of a Javanese family who normally speaks N to her siblings and EJI to her parents but who also knows K asks her mother for a permission in K:

38. Bu?, mbenjéng malem Minggu Sri pareng dhateng ulang taón!pón mba? Nani? nggéh Bu?? Óm bagyo kerso ngeteraken ko?.

Mother, I'm (Sri) allowed to go to Nani?'s birthday party this Saturday night, right, mother? Uncle Bagyo is willing to accompany me, mother.

The daughter has learned through experience that using K is more effective than any other code for a request, asking a favour and the like. The parents have also noticed that she always uses K when she has something on her mind and needs their approval or permission. On another occasion the father suspects something when the daughter uses K better

than usual. He asks his wife in N:

39. Sri ko? léh boso mlpls. Nduwé karep opo?

*Sri must have something on her mind because she suddenly
speaks perfect Kromo.*

CHAPTER THREE

FORMAL FEATURES OF INDONESIAN WHICH MARK CODES

3.0. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian in East Java has been strongly influenced by the Javanese language, and this influence marks the speech not only of ethnic Javanese, but of members of other ethnic groups resident in East Java. As stated in section 2.1 above, the Javanese modes of conduct which are elicited by the Javanese value system are imitated by non-Javanese resident in East Java, more particularly linguistic behaviour, such that what we will say about Javanese influence, in fact, marks the speech of people from other ethnic groups as well. The one exception is in the matter of phonology, where other ethnic groups do not conform to the type of phonology which Javanese use.

With the adoption of Indonesian as the national language after independence the attitude to Indonesian has markedly changed. Whereas before the War it was merely a market language, the language of native schools, or the language of inter-ethnic communication for those who did not know Dutch and was definitely second in prestige to Dutch, Indonesian has since independence become the language of modernisation, the language of the ruling elite, the language of the capital city, and the language of higher education, and as such has acquired the prestige that formerly was accorded to Dutch. Accordingly there has developed a tradition of correctness in Indonesian: certain forms are considered incorrect and from the speech of ignorant people, certain forms are considered incorrect, but used by educated people in relaxed styles, and certain forms are not socially marked at all. Forms which have arisen through Javanese influence fall into all three types, and, as we shall see, these different ways of regarding these forms reflect themselves as expressions of East Javanese social and cultural values.

3.1. SOCIALLY MARKED VARIABLES IN PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

In general Javanese speakers speak Indonesian with Javanese phonology. When this happens the East Javanese will be easily distinguished from the other ethnic groups speaking Indonesian. In fact East Javanese can be distinguished from Central Javanese because there are differences in details of distributions and allophonic realisations between the two phonological systems though the phonemic inventory is the same. The Javanese phonemes are given in Table 4.

The phonemes /f/, /v/, /x/ and /z/ are non-native and are mostly employed in loan words. /f/ and /v/ are often replaced by /p/, /x/ by /h/ or /k/ and /z/ by /j/. The phonemes /wh/, /yh/ and /lh/ are found only in exclamations and particles.

The following statements summarise the differences between Javanese and Indonesian phonology: (1) Phonemes or sequences found in Indonesian but not in Javanese: the alveolar /t/ and /d/, the diphthongs /ay/, /aw/ and /oy/. (2) Phonemes or sequences found in Javanese but not in Indonesian: dental /t/ and /d/, retroflex /th/ and /dh/, pharyngealised /wh/, /lh/ and /yh/ and clusters of two phonemes the second element of which is /i/ or /r/ and the first element is any of the following: /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /c/, /j/, /m/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/ or /s/. (3) Phonemic distribution found in Javanese but not in Indonesian: -Vk and -eC. (4) Differences in realisations of allophones: lax stops are voiced in Indonesian and are pharyngealised in Javanese in initial position or in stressed syllable.

3.1.1. PHONEMIC INTERFERENCE AND SUBSTITUTIONS

Replacement of /ay/ and /aw/ by /èy/ and /ow/ or /èʔ/ and /oʔ/ respectively: As we have stated above, there are no diphthongs in Javanese. In the speech of the non-educated people they are replaced by monophthongs alone or plus a glottal stop. This usage is considered incorrect and is not used in careful styles of people who are educated. However, it is often used in intimate styles. On the other hand, the pronunciations /ay/ and /aw/ have an oratorical or declamatory flavour to East Javanese and so a half-way compromise is used, /éy/ and /ow/. In the following example, a young lady used /ey/ when talking with her friend's servant. The servant uses the /è/ variable:

40. Lady: Brapa jam itu biasanya baru siesèy?
How many hours does it usually take?

Servant: Kalo? jam anem ya jam tuju siesènya.
If it starts at six, it'll be over at seven.

TABLE 4
Javanese Phonemes

		CONSONANTS						
		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Tense	p	t		th	c	k	ʔ
	Lax	b	d		dh	j	g	
Fricative	Tense	(f)		s		(x)	h	
	Lax	(v)		(z)				
Nasals		m		n		ny	ng	
Lateral				l				
Glides		w		r		y		
(Liquids pharyngealised)		(wh)		(lh)		(yh)		
		VOWELS						
		Front		Central		Back		
High		i				u		
Mid		é		e		ó		
Low		è		a		o		

The servant always pronounced /oʔ/ for /aw/ as in the word *kaloʔ* 'if, when' above, while the lady varies between /ow/ and /oʔ/ as in:

Kalow mboʔ kan énaʔ, nggaʔ usah blanja.

You are lucky, you don't have to go shopping, do you?

And in:

Kaloʔ di rumah kerjanya apaʔ

What does she do at home?

Vowel shift: In East Java the first vowel in a by-syllabic Javanese word ending in a consonant shifts to a vowel lower than the usual vowel occurring in the same position in Central Java. In words of the shape CV₁CV₂C if C₂ is a mid vowel particularly /é/ or /ó/, V₁ must be lower than /i/ or /u/. For example, the Central Javanese /pitéʔ/ 'chicken' becomes /pétéʔ/ in East Java, /kunéng/ 'yellow' becomes /kónéng/, /misóh/ 'swear' becomes /mésóh/, /rubóh/ 'collapse' becomes /róbóh/ and many

others. This vowel shift is usually transferred into Indonesian by the non-educated people but is normally avoided by educated interlocutors. In the following example a non-Javanese educated visitor is talking in EJI with a servant about the latter's house (the latter uses NEJI):

41. Visitor: Sesudah dibeli dibikén apa itu mbo??
What are you going to do with it after you bought it?

Servant: Ya anu didandani nanti dibékén séwa. . . .
Well, it's for rent after being mended. . . .

In another instance, an educated customer is bargaining with a vendor of black caps:

42. Vendor: Ya kalo? óntó? orang ya yang cukupan saja.
Well, if it's not for you, the mediocre one is better.

Customer: Ah, untó? órang laén kaló? ngga? baé? gmana?
No, what'll happen if it's not good since it's for somebody else?

Substitution with retroflex stops for Indonesian apical stops: The retroflex stops of Javanese words are normally retained in their Indonesian cognates, replacing the original stop, in the speech of non-educated people and in the casual speech of the educated ones, e.g., /kenthang/ 'potato', /bathé?/ 'batik', /gedhong/ 'building' which contrast with the Indonesian /kentang/ /baté?/, and /gedóng/ respectively. For example, a Javanese young lady (B) used /dh/ in a Javanese loan and a Javanese cognate when talking in EJI with her colleague (A):

43. A: Musém apa dé? namanya, ada ko??
What is it called? I'm sure there is a name for this season.

B: Bedhédhéng. Bunga turi itu lhó mba?, bunga randhu, turi kaló? mekar ya begini.
BEDHEDHENG (cool weather). It's always cool like this when the turi (a kind of legume) and the KAPOK TREES are in bloom.

Pre-nasalisation: Names of places starting with a lax stop are ordinarily pre-nasalsed by Javanese speakers. However, such a pronunciation is considered unsophisticated and therefore is avoided by educated people. Among these people, a friend may joke about such pronunciation as expressed in: Wah, toto?é metu 'My, your origin shows through'. Thus intellectuals always try to avoid the pronunciations of

the names of places like Mbandong, Nggarot, Njatinom, Ndema? etc., and pronounce these Bandong, Garot, Jatinom, and Demaq respectively. In the following example, a servant uses pre-nasalisation when she comments on her precious gold ring:

44. Sayang itu dilla?-lia? sama mbo?nya, boléhnya kerja dari Mbandóng.

It's a dear thing to me. I always look at it. I got it when I was working in Bandung.

The loan phonemes /f/, /v/, /x/ and /z/: These phonemes are commonly used among educated people in loan words and by Moslems who are fluent at reciting verses from the Koran. The following example is taken from a sermon:

45. Dengan fraxmental pethilan-pethilan ini semóga memberikan korongan kepada kita untó?mencontoh axlak nabi yang bagus-bagus.

May these short excerpts encourage us to follow the Prophet's examples.

3.1.2. THE USE OF /ʔ/ IN MORPHEME AND WORD-FINAL POSITIONS

In the speech of the non-educated people and in the casual speech of educated interlocutors final /ʔ/ is frequently used: (1) at the end of a number of words which in the standard variety each ends in an open syllable as in /cucuʔ/ for /cucu/ 'grandchild', /tatiʔ/ for /tati/ '(name of a girl)', etc.; (2) to replace a word final /h/ or /t/ as in /maséʔ/ for /maséh/ 'still', /taróʔ/ for /taróh/ 'put', /duwéʔ/ for /duwét/ 'money', /liaʔ/ for /liat/ 'see', etc; (3) to replace a morpheme final /k/ when followed by the suffix -an or -i as in /geraʔan/ for /gerakan/ 'movement' /sóbbèʔan/ for /sóbbèkan/ 'a torn piece of paper or cloth', /duduʔi/ for /duduki/ 'occupy', /terlaʔi/ for /terlaki/ 'shout at', etc.

Educated people tend to avoid such pronunciations in formal situations which require careful speech. However, final /ʔ/ is often used in informal conversation as in the case of an educated visitor who is talking about the hostess with the latter's servant:

46. Visitor: Nda? suka? jalan-jalan ya? (standard: /suka/)
She doesn't like to go out, does she?

Servant: Nda? tau pigl. Ada rumah aja.
She never goes out. She always stays at home.

The visitor also uses /juga?/ for /juga/ 'also' and /coba?/ for /coba/ 'try' in the same conversation. However, she uses /juga/ when talking with a new acquaintance:

Visitor: Tempat kita tukóng juga pa? namanya.

We call that kind of bird tukóng too.

The setting of these two speech events is exactly the same, namely at a friend's house, and the subject of the conversation is approximately similar, namely ngobrol 'chatting' about their daily life. When she talks with the servant, however, she uses more /?/ and reduces this usage when talking with educated interlocutors.

Another feature is the insertion of /?/ in morphemes ending in /a/ before the suffix -i, e.g., /mengena?i/ 'concern' for /mengenai/, /meluka?i/ 'hurt' for /melukai/, /nyoba?i/ 'try on' for /nyobai/, etc.

3.1.3. ELIMINATION OF /e/

In rapid speech people tend to use contractions by dropping /e/ in an unstressed syllable of the antipenult or earlier in the word as in /skarang/ for /sekarang/ 'now' /menggrombol/ for /menggerombol/ 'to group, to cluster', and the like, but not in the final syllable as in /mules/ 'upset stomach', /luwes/ 'appropriately dressed and graceful', and the like. Javanese tend to use clusters (discussed in (2) in section 3.1) instead of the standard forms with /e/, e.g., /plabuhan/ instead of /pelabuhan/ 'harbour', /srobot/ instead of /serobot/ 'rip off' and the like.

The tendency to contract in this way becomes greater when the speaker does not have to show a feeling of sungkan to the other interlocutors, as, for example, when one is talking with one's friend, with persons of lower status, in an unserious scene, about unimportant subjects and the like. Further, this tendency is primarily followed by speakers who are accustomed to using the standard variety of Indonesian. For example, in a meeting attended by the Ketua Rukón Kampońg (RK) 'Head of the neighbourhood', some elders and the youth leaders discussing their project for the Independence Day's celebration, which is considered important and is discussed in a serious tone, employing the official language SIEJ, the RK uses contractions in all the words where contractions are possible in his speech. On the other hand, the youth leader does so in approximately half the cases where contractions are possible. In about two hundred and fifty words the RK uses: /skalían/ 'all', /sbenarnya/ 'actually', /skalipón/ 'even though', /sbab/ 'because', /karna/ 'because', /sbelomnya/ 'before', /slamanya/ 'forever', /pengeluaran/ 'expenditure', whereas the youth in about the same length

of speech uses contractions in: /trimaksih/ 'thanks', /tlah/ 'already', /stelah/ 'after', /sbagèy/ 'as', /kpada/ 'to', /spenuhnya/ 'fully' but also uses the full forms in: /sebelómnya/ 'before', /sepenuhnya/ 'fully', /selanjótnya/ 'further', /merasa/ 'feel' and /pena séhat/ 'advisor'. The tendency to use fewer contractions and some other features discussed above is a sign that his speech has been affected by his feeling of sungkan toward all the other participants, in contrast with the case of the RK who is at the top and does not necessarily show a sungkan feeling toward his interlocutors.

3.1.4. REPLACEMENT OF /a/ BY /e/

Javanese belonging to the older generation or those who have not received much formal instruction in Indonesian frequently replace /a/ in word-final closed syllable with /e/ if the cognate form in Javanese has /e/, e.g., Indonesian /cepat/ and Javanese /cepet/ 'fast', the Indonesian suffix -kan probably under the influence of Javanese -aken.

The choice of the variant with -eC is considered incorrect, but permissible in colloquial style. For example, in a conversation between an educated woman and a servant which lasts for about twenty-five minutes, the former uses a variable with -eC five times and a variable with -aC six times. The servant uses no variable with -aC and ten examples with eC including /seneng/ for /senang/ 'happy', /pedhes/ and /pedas/ 'seasoned hot', /malem/ for /malam/ 'night', /dateng/ for /datang/ 'arrive', etc. The educated woman also uses both variables -aC and -eC when talking with her friends whereas the servant uses -eC regularly as -aC is learned in schools only.

The rules for -ken are somewhat different. It is used regularly by non-educated people and by educated people of the older generation. The fact that many educated -ken speakers still hold top positions in local as well as central government offices, means that -ken (as much as Dutch phrases, etc.) has become an indicator of being in the top in-group which high-ranking bureaucrats use for in-group identity. Consequently, many younger educated people who are moving up in the higher echelons tend to use -ken as a status symbol or when interacting with older people of high rank. In the meeting discussed above the RK aged in his fifties uses -ken throughout: /dipaksaken/ 'be forced', /dibutuhken/ 'be needed', /melaksanaken/ 'carry out' and many others. The youths' representative, on the other hand, uses the -kan variable throughout: /meningénkan/ 'desire', /menyelenggarakan/ 'carry out', /meracangkan/ 'plan', etc. On another occasion an educated official of the younger generation who is moving up the career ladder and has daily contact with older educated people of higher rank, in his speech at a

semi-offical meeting attended by government officials and businessmen, uses both -kan forms including /memutóskan/ 'decide', /menetapkan/ 'appoint', /memberhentikan/ 'dismiss, fire' and many others as well as -ken forms including /mengucapkan/ 'say', /menyampëyken/ 'convey', /menyediakan/ 'provide with', etc. In the first example, the youths' representative cannot identify himself with the RK and the other elders since he is one of the youngest and has no permanent position in society other than being a student. Consequently he inter-lards his speech with markers (including -kan) which identify him as belonging to the young educated group. The high-ranking official in the second example, on the other hand, has the freedom to identify himself as belonging to both groups and therefore feels free to use both markers, the -kan and the -ken. Had the meeting been attended only by the older and high-ranking bureaucrats and businessmen, he might have used the -ken forms only.

3.1.5. DROPPING OF INITIAL /h/

Javanese does not have initial h- in forms other than exclamations and names. Further, Indonesian shows dialectal variation between forms with initial h- and forms which drop h-: e.g., /hujan/ and /ujan/ 'rain', /hari/ and /ari/ 'day', etc. In East Java the non-educated speakers use more h-less forms in their speech than the educated speakers. The latter use the h-less forms in informal conversations when the feeling of sungkan is not necessarily indicated. Many of the h-less forms used are those which have h-less Javanese cognates. The following example is taken from the speech of a servant who is explaining why she cannot walk:

47. Abés kalo? nda? banya? mbéca? ya nda? kuwat, órang sudah tua.
BECAUSE if I don't take a pedicab I won't have the strength to go anywhere. I'm too old.

She uses h-less forms a great deal but she also uses forms with h- as when she talks about a third person while talking with the same interlocutor as above:

- Kaló? hari Minggu itu tldór terós.
On Sundays she doesn't do anything else but sleep.

There is no clear indication that she distinguishes sociolinguistically the h-less from the other forms. On the other hand, the other interlocutor, an educated woman, uses h-less a great deal when talking to her and to her younger acquaintance in a chat (thus no feeling of sungkan is needed):

48. Nda? pernah ilang ya dé? dijemór di sini?

These clothes never GET STOLEN while being dried here, Sis?

In the conversation she also uses /tempó ari/ for /tempó hari/ 'that day' and /saben ari/ for /saben hari/ 'every day', but when she talks with an older person of higher status she does not use the h-less forms. To confirm when she will be leaving she says:

Poko?nya hari Senèn mesti bisa berangkat.

I assure you that I will be able to leave this Monday.

3.2. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES WHICH REFLECT SOCIAL VALUES AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN INDONESIAN

The structures of Indonesian and Javanese are very close (as a result of more than a thousand years of close contact and mutual influence),¹ so close in fact that Javanese frequently transfer certain Javanese grammatical features to Indonesian without being aware of having done so. In fact a great portion of the population are familiar only with Javanese grammar and speak Indonesian by substituting the forms which they believe to be the Indonesian equivalents. Such usages are acceptable in daily use by almost every group in East Java, but certain other features are avoided in careful styles. Grammatical features found in the data which are stigmatised as inferior are discussed with illustrations in the following sections.

3.2.1. EMPLOYMENT OF JAVANESE AFFIXES

The use of Javanese affixes to replace those in Indonesian is strongly marked for class and ethnicity. Peranakan Chinese educated in formal Indonesian (thus speak SIEJ) used Javanese affixes as a mark of the in-group code, otherwise if they are not educated in formal Indonesian they are not able to control the Indonesian affixes at all. Non-Peranakan avoid the use of Javanese affixes in Indonesian except when communicating with Peranakan and trying to identify with them. However, many uneducated people of the non Peranakan group use Javanese affixes where they have no control over the Indonesian cognates.

¹See Bosch (1941) on an Old Malay inscription dated from 942 A.D. found in West Java. See also Casparis (1956) on possible Old Javanese borrowings on Old Malay inscriptions from the seventh century found in South Sumatra.

3.2.1.1. Substitution of the Javanese Equivalent of the Indonesian Prefix meN-

Javanese has a prefix similar in form and function to the Indonesian active verb-forming prefix meN-. There are small differences in form, as illustrated in Table 5. The replacement of meN- by N- is not equally spread over all roots. A few roots are never prefixed with N-, even in the most intimate or most uneducated styles, e.g., /merasa/ from (meN- + rasa) 'feel'. Other roots are seldom prefixed with N-, e.g., /merusa?/ 'break' from the root /rusa?/. The form /ngrusa?/ exists but is rare. Others are almost always prefixed with N- except in most careful styles, e.g., the root /roko?/ 'cigarette' becomes /ngroko?/ (with informal conversation between educated interlocutors of approximately the same status:

- 49a. Ya, tanahnya subur, yang namen (standard: menanam)
juga? rajin.
*Well, the soil is fertile, besides the one who PLANTED
this is good at taking care of it.*
- 49b. Udah lama de? ngambél (standard: mengambél) rantangan
di sana?
*Have you HAD your meals DELIVERED from that place for a
long time?*

They also use Javanese forms like /mbayar/ 'pay', /nganter/ 'bring', /njempót/ 'pick up' and many others. They use the rarely Javanese form /menyebabkan/ 'cause' and /menurón/ 'decrease'. The Javanised form /nuron/ means 'inherited' and so cannot replace the Indonesian /menurón/ found in the context:

TABLE 5

The Shape of Indonesian meN- and Its Javanese Analogue N-

Before Bases Beginning With	meN- Has the Shape	N- Has the Shape
p, t, s, k	mem-, men-, meny-, meng- and initial C of the base is dropped	m-, n-, ny-, ng-, and initial C of the base is dropped
b, d, j, g	mem-, men-, men-, meng-	m-, n-, n-, and ng-
c	men-	ny- and initial C of base is dropped
l r	me-	ng-
w	me-	m- and initial C of base is dropped
vowel, h*	meng-	ng-
before monosyllabic bases	same as other bases	nge-

*In many cases the Javanese analogues drop the initial /h/.

Examples:

Root	English Gloss	With meN-	English Gloss	With N-
pedang	<i>sword</i>	memedang	<i>strike with sword</i>	medhang
bedél	<i>rifle</i>	membedél	<i>shoot</i>	mbedhé1
tulés	<i>write</i>	menulés	<i>write</i>	nules
dongèng	<i>fairy tale, fable</i>	mendongèng	<i>tell a story</i>	ndongèng
kayu	<i>wood</i>	mengayu	<i>harden as wood</i>	ngayu
culé?	<i>kidnap</i>	menculé?	<i>kidnap</i>	nyulé?
jaréng	<i>fishing net</i>	menjaréng	<i>catch with net</i>	njaréng
sayór	<i>vegetable</i>	menyayór	<i>make vegetable soup</i>	nyayór
lembór	<i>overtime</i>	melembór	<i>work overtime</i>	nglembór
rampok	<i>rob</i>	merampok	<i>rob, steal</i>	ngrampok
wakél	<i>representative</i>	mewakél(kan)	<i>represent</i>	makél(no)
awang	<i>sky</i>	mengawang	<i>float in sky</i>	ngawang
hadang	<i>intercept</i>	menghadang	<i>block, intercept</i>	ngadhang
bor	<i>drill, bore</i>	membor	<i>bore</i>	ngebór

- 49c. Ada kan yang setengah bulan sudah menurón.
There are people (selling and delivering meals) who decrease (the quality of the food they deliver) fifteen days after (the deal was made).

In contrast with the phenomenon above, the youths' representative at the meeting with the RK and other elders (see 3.1.3) does not Javanise the forms where the N- rule is applicable, as an indication of respect towards the other interlocutors. These forms are: /membanténg tulang/ 'work hard', /membantu/ 'help', /menyetér/ 'steer', /membagi/ 'distribute' and /mengirit/ 'economise'. For example:

50. Pimpinan yang dulu tida? bisa menyetér atow membagi keuangan dalam pengeluaran.
The former chairman and his staff could not DIRECT or ALLOT the funds efficiently for all the expenditure.

Considering these facts, we can conclude that N- forms are constantly used by non-educated speakers, are in use by educated speakers in informal situations and are avoided in formal situations where serious topics are being discussed.

3.2.1.2. Employment of the Suffix -é

Replacement of Indonesian -nya 'possessive marker, determiner' by Javanese -é is common among uneducated interlocutors and Peranakan Chinese, but is rare among educated interlocutors. Parents and school teachers always immediately correct their children or students who are found to employ this suffix, since this usage is considered sloppy, murang toto 'lacking politeness' and the like.

The RK, the youths' representative and other participants in the meeting discussed above never use -é at all. In the following example a vendor of flowers who is talking about her birthplace uses -é constantly:

51. Turèn itu masé? bukan kotaé, ndésa betól.
It is not in the town of Turen but a long way off from it, in the country.

In another case, an educated Peranakan Chinese who mingles a great deal with educated non-Peranakan avoids using the -é variant while talking with educated interlocutors even in a relaxed situation such as on the tennis court, and uses the -é forms when talking with her employees who are mostly Peranakan Chinese. The following example is taken from a conversation with her educated non-Peranakan friends on the tennis court:

52. Peranakan: Lhó mana, ngga? ada musi?nya pa??
Isn't there any music in this tape recorder?

Javanese: Ngga? ada ko?.
No, there is not.

When talking with her employees she uses -e attached to primarily Javanese loans or cognates and borrowings which have the same forms in Indonesian and in Javanese:

53. Employer: Seringé ngga? masó? arè?-arè? itu.
*I wonder why the girls do not come to work
 SO FREQUENTLY.*

Employee: Ke doktor barangkali. Kemarén ko? bilang mau ke doktor.
They have gone to the doctor, probably. Yesterday they said they wanted to go to the doctor.

Employer: Kan kemarén udah ke doktor katanya.
*THEY SAID they went to the doctor yesterday,
 didn't they?*

Seréng 'often' is Javanese as well as Indonesian while kata 'say' is Indonesian. She also uses Javanese loans /dadiné/ 'so', /bè?é/ 'maybe' and /separone/ 'half'; Indonesian forms /apanya/ 'of what', /mestinya/ 'probably', etc.; and borrowings such as /léstréknya/ and /léstréké/ 'the electricity'.

3.2.1.3. Employment of Javanese Suffix -i

Both Javanese and Indonesian have a verbal suffix -i, the function of which is similar in both languages. However, Javanese -i is far more productive than the Indonesian -i. For many Javanese verbs with the suffix -i the Indonesian cognates or forms with similar meanings have no suffix -i. The Indonesian cognates or forms, however, may have the suffix -kan. Many Indonesian speakers in East Java transfer the Javanese -i into Indonesian so that Indonesian in East Java has a higher frequency count for the suffix -i compared to its occurrence in standard Indonesian. The use of -i where standard Indonesian has no -i is far more widespread both in terms of uses and in styles than the substitution of -é for -nya. -i is not of such great frequency as -é and the total number of forms involved is much smaller. The RK in the meeting discussed above who never uses the -é variable, for example, does use -i such as in:

54. C6ba?-c6ba? dipaksaken, digarisi, sbab ini saya rasa mengenal pemasukan dan pengeluaran.
Let's try to urge the youths and DIRECT them because this concerns the budgeting.

He uses /digarisi/ and /digaréskan/ 'be given direction' after the Javanese form /nggarisi/ which actually means 'to make lines'. Another participant in the same meeting who also avoids -é uses the suffix -i in:

- Dan ini kami bisa memutus unt6? menjadi keuangan ini 6rang tua.
And we can DECIDE that the treasurer should be one of the elders.

Here the speaker uses /memutus/ (Javanese: /mutusi/) instead of the Indonesian /memutuskan/ 'decide'.

Another example of this phenomenon is the use of -i with a causative meaning, which is quite productive in Javanese but unproductive in Indonesian. For example, a comedian transfers -i to the Indonesian root /bersih/ 'clean' forming /bersih/ 'clean something' on the analogy of the Javanese form /resi?/ 'clean' becoming /resi?/ 'clean something'. This usage is funny to the audience because the normal Indonesian /bersihkan/ or /bikén bersih/ are so well known that /bersih/ actually does not normally occur. The servant in example 45 (see 3.1.5) also uses this grammatical device in:

55. Pagi-pagi ta? banguni, suruh makan.
I WOKE HER UP early in the morning and asked her to eat.

Here she uses /banguni/ for the standard /bang6nkan/ 'wake somebody up'.

Some Javanese verbs with -i have Indonesian analogues or cognates without -i. Many Javanese add -i to these Indonesian analogues or cognates. For example, a duk6n pijet 'traditional masseuse' uses it in:

56. Ini bu Darmo pernah nyari?i saya di sana.
Mrs. Darmo, the lady over here, once LOOKED FOR me over there.

She added -i to the colloquial Indonesian /nyari?/ 'look for' (the standard is /mencari/). This is under the influence of the Javanese analogue /ngg6lè?/ 'look for' with the root /g6lè?/. Other examples of this usage are forms like /makan/ 'to feed' for the standard /memberi makan/, /njagai/ 'take care of' (Javanese: /ng6pèni) for the standard /menjaga/ 'watch, take care of', /ngliati/ 'look at carefully' (Javanese: /ngilingilingi/ 'examine or look at carefully') for the standard /melihat/ or /memperhatikan/, and many others.

From the illustrations above we can conclude that the rules for -i are far more difficult than those for -é because the -i suffix

involves more individual items and many speakers do not know when to use it and when not to. Consequently speakers who never use -é may erroneously use -i which in accordance with the *tepo sliro* principles seems to be socially permitted. Educated speakers who are accustomed to using standard Indonesian normally limit their employment of this non-standard -i to jokes and other similar events in most relaxed situations.

3.2.1.4. Employment of -en, -no and -o

There are other affixes of Javanese origin which are stigmatised as ignorance usages in Indonesian and are mostly confined to Peranakan Chinese, illiterates and children. These affixes are the 'active imperative marker' -o, the 'passive imperative marker' -en, the 'benefactive marker (sometimes also used imperatively)' -no and another suffix -o which in Indonesian is conveyed paraphrastically by a lexical item such as /meskipun/, /walowpón/ 'though', etc. These forms are avoided for two reasons: first they are recognised as distinctly Javanese, second there is a tendency to avoid direct commands, as dictated by Javanese ethics (see indirection in 2.2.1). Children who are caught using these affixes are often directly corrected by their elders (see the example of /ambilen/ in 2.4.4). In the following example an elderly Peranakan Chinese woman invited her visitor, a young educated Peranakan, in PCI:

57. Dudu?o sini lhó Nes.

TAKE A SEAT over here, will you, Nes?

On another occasion a Peranakan college student asks his classmate, another Peranakan, a favour in PCI:

58. Tólong tanya?no pa? Bambang nti buyaré jam brapa ya?

Please ASK Mr. Bambang (FOR ME) what time school is over, okay?

A dukón pijet 'masseuse' uses the affix -o 'though' when talking with her client:

59. Jauho, ada yang mbawa?, ya deket ya, non.

EVEN-THOUGH it is A LONG WAY OFF, since there are people who bring it here you could call it close, don't you think, miss?

Speakers who never use these affixes in ordinary conversations may sometimes use them in jokes and in similar events. For example, a preacher who makes jokes in between his sermon says:

60. Makanen duétmu itu, ya. Makanlah diétmu itu, ya.

Eat the money yourself! Eat it!

He gives both the sub-standard /makanen/ and the standard /makanlah/ 'eat'.

3.2.1.5. Employment of Javanese Doubling

Both Indonesian and Javanese employ several kinds of doubling to form new words. However, the rules are not always the same and there are doubling devices in Javanese which are productive but not so in Indonesian. One of them is word doubling with a vowel change which is very often borrowed into Indonesian by non-educated speakers. This device is avoided by educated interlocutors except in the most relaxed situations primarily because most of the constructions formed this way have quite different forms in standard Indonesian. For example, /mèsem/ 'smile' in Javanese has an analogue /senyóm/ in Indonesian. However, the Javanese /mèsam mèsam/ 'always smiling' is expressed as /senyóm simpól/ or /selalu tersenyóm/ in Indonesian. Consequently the form /senyam senyóm/ is distinctly Javanese and thus is considered sub-standard. Other examples /tidar tidór/ 'always go back to sleep' (standard: /tidór terós/, Javanese /tura turu/); /ngóngga? nganggó?/ 'keep nodding' (standard: /menganggó? terós/, Javanese: /móntha? manthó?/); /lóra lari/ 'run back and forth' (standard: /lari ke sana ke mari/, Javanese: /mloya mlayu/) and many others. In the following example a servant is talking about her trips in a pedicab:

61. Kembóla-kembali, kan sudah sratós lima puluh.
TO GO BACK AND FORTH it already costs one hundred and fifty rupiahs.

Here she uses /kembóla kembali/ for the standard /pulang pergi/ 'back and forth'.

The morpheme re-duplication plus -an which is applied primarily to adjective roots is productive in Javanese but is not used in Indonesian. This device is also frequently used by non-educated speakers but is avoided by educated ones. For example, a pedicab driver uses it in:

62. Débat saja kuat-kuatan (standard: adu kuat).
Why don't they just compete in debating.

Another pedicab driver who is talking about a bull race in Madura says:

63. Ya ditumpa?l di atas punggóngnya. Banter-banteran gitu (standard: adu cepat).
Well, the bulls are ridden on their backs and race, you know.

3.2.1.6. Employment of Javanese Affixes, -an, ke- and ke- -en

Certain Javanese affixes are not stigmatised as are those discussed in 3.2.1 above, but rather are in constant and wide use among Indonesian speakers in East Java in various situations except in highly formal situations where standard Indonesian is required. People with little

Indonesian education employ these affixes constantly. Outsiders who use the standard Indonesian forms which correspond to these affixes are often thought to speak in a stilted and bookish style.

One common affix of this sort is -an which can occur in two different environments: first it is suffixed to a modifier following a predicate head and second, it is suffixed to a predicate. In Javanese modifiers of a predicate which precede the predicate head may optionally be placed following it, in which case they are given a suffix -an, e.g., /wes lungo/ becomes /lungo wisan/ 'already left', where the modifier /wés/ 'already' precedes the predicate head /lungo/ 'left', while /wisán/ consisting of /wés/ plus -an with an automatic morphophonemic alternation follows it. This process is carried over into Indonesian in various informal situations. For example, a night watchman talking about a new residential area says:

64. Kaló? situ digedhong ngga? bóléh masi?an (standard: maséh belom bóléh).

As for that place, people are STILL NOT ALLOWED to build stone houses.

In another instance, a vendor of flowers talking with an educated customer about the flowers she is selling says:

65. Ya, macem-macem sudahan ini (standard: sudah bermacam-macam).
Well, there have been ALL DIFFERENT KINDS ALREADY.

The -an which is attached to a predicate usually means 'to have the quality or tendency characterised by the root'. For example, a student refers to a friend of his:

66. Karman tu ngantu?an lhó di klas (standard: suka mengantó?).
Karman is ALWAYS SLEEPY in class, you know.

This suffix is also found in forms such as: /nangisan/ 'always crying' (standard: suka menangés), /nyurian/ 'likes to steal' (standard: suka mencuri/), /nakalan/ 'treacherous, unfair' (standard: /suka nakal/, /jahél/ and many others.

Another common affix of this sort of ke- which is roughly equivalent to the Indonesian prefix ter- 'accidental, potential', e.g., /kejepet/ for /terjepet/ 'accidentally get squeezed', /ke?angkat/ for /terangkat/ 'can be lifted', etc. For example, a young foreman talks about his old friend:

67. Jatóh, naé? béca? ketubru? spéda motor.
She fell off the pedicab when a motorcycle HIT it.

Another commonly used affix is ke- -en (sometimes Indonesianised into ke- -an) 'too much' which is expressed paraphrastically in Indonesian by /terlalu/ 'too much'. For example, a young lady who is chatting with a friend about her flower plants says:

68. He?m, kaló? kebanya?en sinar matahari, kuning juga?
(standard: terlalu banya?).
Sure, when it gets too much sun it withers too.

Other examples are: /kekecilen/ for /terlalu kecil/ 'too small', /kelama?en/ for /terlalu lama/ 'too long', /kejauhen/ for /terlalu jaóh/ 'too far away', etc.

3.2.1.7. Employment of Javanese sa?-

This prefix is also widely used by Indonesian speakers in East Java and is not stigmatised either. It is frequently employed to replace the Indonesian se- '(a counter), as . . . as, etc.' For educated speakers it is a sign of intimacy but older educated speakers use it freely. For example, an elderly high-ranking official uses it in his formal speech:

69. Maka pada sa?at itu pula daérah itu sa?isinya (standard: selsinya) óléh ra?yat dan pemréntah dipercayakan padanya.
At that very moment the area AND ITS POPULATION is entrusted to him by the people and the government.

In another example, a college student tells her close friend about her flowers:

70. Yang di dalam itu hampér sa? . . ., banya? skali mba?
Néng, tapi kecil kecil.
Inside the house there are almost AS MANY AS . . . (HERE), a whole bunch of them, but they are all small Ning.

And a vendor of flowers tells her customer:

71. Sa?gini sudah berbunga (standard: sebesar ini).
When it gets to be this big it blooms.

An elderly Peranakan Chinese tells her acquaintance, another Peranakan:

72. Kira-kira ya, tante pulang sa?éna?é (standard: seéna?nya) aé. Tanggal tujuhbelas tah delapanbelas.
Maybe, well, I'll return as it suits me best, the seventeenth or the eighteenth.

3.2.2. LOAN TRANSLATIONS OF JAVANESE PARATACTIC STRUCTURES

Indonesian speakers in East Java often employ Javanese structures and translate the items used in the structures into Indonesian. Many of these translations, however, are stigmatised and used primarily by illiterates and Peranakan Chinese.

One of these devices is /bóléhnya/ a direct translation from Javanese /ólèhé/, a marker which nominalises verbal phrases, a construction which has no parallel in Indonesian. E.g., /bóléhnya datang/ '*the arrival*', /bóléhnya nunggu/ '*the state of waiting*', /bóléhnya beli/ '*the result of buying*', etc. For example, the servant's statement quoted in 42 (see 3.1.1) uses the phrase /bóléhnya kerja/ from the K /anggènipón nyambót damel/ or N /ólèhé nyambót gawé/ '*the result of working, by working, etc.*' In Javanese this device is also very frequently used to express indirection, one of the ways of showing respect (see 2.2.1). In Javanese people often feel embarrassed to use the second person pronoun, even the honorific form /penjenengan/. Consequently people avoid using this pronoun and use /ólèhé/ in N and /anggenipon/ in K instead. Thus, to ask '*What time did you arrive*' people would tend to say: /anggènipón rawóh jam pinten/ which actually means '*The arrival(of the respected person) what time?*' instead of /penjenengan rawóh jam pinten/. To bring this indirection into Indonesian by direct translation, however, is not considered sophisticated. In Javanese the device to show indirection which is less formal and which shows intimacy is the use of -ipón added to the predicate. The question above thus becomes: /rawóhipón jam pinten/ (lit. '*The arrival (of my good friend) what time?*') which is translated into Indonesian as /datangnya jam berapa/ and which is accepted widely in East Javanese society, i.e., by non-educated and educated speakers as well. For example, an educated young man asks his older colleague about how the latter usually arranges his meals:

73. Makannya jadi satu dengan dokter itu?
DO YOU USUALLY EAT at the doctor's house?

And a white collar worker asks his acquaintance, another white collar worker about the trip the latter is going to make:

74. Anu, brangkatnya bawa? móbil?
ARE YOU GOING THERE by car?

The Javanese -é (or -né) N or -ipon (or -nipón) K has a wider range of usages than the Indonesian -nya. Indonesian speakers in East Java frequently carry the characteristic Javanese usages into Indonesian in almost all situations except in a few cases where the rather stiff stan-

dard Indonesian is required. One of these usages is found after a noun which functions as 'a determiner' and which corresponds with the Indonesian -nya. In Indonesian, however, -nya when it occurs in such a position should be eliminated when another noun, pronoun or pro-nominal follows, whereas the Javanese suffix in such a position is retained. E.g., N /srengéngéné/ corresponds with (I) /mataharinya/ 'the sun', /anginé/ with /angénnya/ 'the wind', /kucingé/ with /kucéngnya/ 'the cat', etc., but /kucingé marno/ 'the cat of Marno' in N becomes /kucéng marno/ 'Marno's cat' in Indonesian. In the following example, a graduate student who is chatting with his friends says:

75. Kencéng manés itu penyakétnya orang kaya tu.
Diabetes is a rich man's disease, you know.

And a high school teacher talking with her colleagues about a certain ceremony says:

76. Éstrinya pa? Tanto itu dulu ibunya bu Raharjo yang memandikan.
 MR. TANTO'S WIFE was bathed by MRS. RAHARJO'S MOTHER
 (in that ceremony).

Another usage which is characteristically Javanese and which is also widely carried into Indonesian is this suffix added to a predicative adjective in an exclamation. E.g., /wah ayuné/ N becomes /wah cantiknya/ in colloquial Indonesian (standard: /aduh cantik benar/) 'How beautiful'. The following example is taken from a conversation between two educated young women who are admiring some flower plants:

77. A: I bagusnya (Javanese N: api?é), itu tumbuh ya?
Wow, HOW BEAUTIFUL that plant is. Is it growing?
 B: Iya, tadinya tu mau dipaké? caga? Ihó mba?
Yes, it used to be intended for a support for other plants, you know, sis?

Another form is /ada/ to replace the standard /ada di/ 'at, in' which in Javanese N is /ono éng/ and in K /wonten éng/ 'at, in'. In Javanese the /éng/ is often deleted while in Indonesian it is the /ada/ which is often omitted. Many Indonesian speakers in East Java, however, translate the Javanese short form of /ono/ or /wonten/ into Indonesian /ada/. This device is stigmatised and is found primarily in the speech of illiterates and Peranakan Chinese. The following example is taken from a conversation between an elderly Peranakan woman with a Peranakan young man:

78. Saya datang itu meréka ada rumahé Diki sudahan.
When I arrived they had been at Diki's house.

In another instance, a servant talks about her mistress:

79. Nda? tau pigi, ada rumah saja.

She never goes out. She always stays at home.

Another form is /sendiri/ a direct translation of Javanese N /dhéwé/ or K /piyamba?/ to replace the standard Indonesian /paléng/ 'a superlative marker'. In Indonesian /paléng/ comes before the modified head (usually an adjective) while in Javanese the superlative marker comes after the head. The loan translation /sendiri/ patterns like the Javanese model. For example, /besar sendiri/ 'the biggest' replaces the standard /paléng besar/, /muda sendiri/ 'the youngest' replaces /paléng muda/. This usage is considered incorrect and is avoided by educated speakers in many situations except in a very intimate and relaxed situation but is commonly used by non-educated interlocutors. In the following example, a night watchman refers to one's house as:

80. Itu lhó, rumahnya yang tinggi sendiri itu.

His house is that tallest one over there.

3.2.3. LOAN USAGES OF JAVANESE LEXICAL ITEMS WHICH HAVE PARTIAL CORRESPONDENCES IN INDONESIAN

There are a number of Javanese lexical items which each of which has two or more usages but only one of which corresponds to its Indonesian equivalent. For example, /gaé/ in N is equivalent to Indonesian /kerja/ 'work'. However, /gaé/ is also used as a preposition 'for'. Many Indonesian speakers in East Java do not realise these distinctions and extend this latter Javanese usage to Indonesian preposition /untó?/ 'for'. So, instead of /untó? pésta/ 'for the party' people often say /kerja pésta/ (Javanese N: /gaé pésto/). This sort of loan, however, is considered unsophisticated and so is avoided by educated speakers but is constantly being used by non-educated speakers and Peranakan speaking PCI. In the following example a Peranakan Chinese student asks his colleague, another Peranakan, about his next assignment:

81. Terós apalagi? Itu besó?, kerja besó? apa?

Then, what else? What shall I do FOR tomorrow?

Another form is Javanese K /menopo meniko/ 'what's that' which is equivalent to Indonesian /apa itu/. In Javanese it is also used to mean 'and so forth, and everything' and is frequently extended to Indonesian /apa itu/ to replace the standard Indonesian /dan sebagèynya/ or /dan seterusnya/ 'and so on'. This usage is also commonly used by illiterates and is avoided by educated speakers. In the following example, a vendor of flowers tells his customer about where he keeps the seedlings:

82. Ya di kebon-kebon, campór sama apel-apel apa itu
Well, they keep them in the garden together with apple seedlings, AND EVERYTHING.

This usage is also found in PCI as in the following example:

83. Minya? sa?drém, bènsin sa?drém, spiritós sa?drém, minya?
 tanah sa?drém, ya óli apa itu di so? ambè? orang. . . .
A barrel of frying oil, a barrel of gasoline, a barrel of spirits, a barrel of kerosene AND lubricating oil AS WELL was all wastefully spilled by the mob. . . .

Javanese N /nè?/ or K /menawi/ 'if, when' corresponds with Indonesian /kalow/. However, the Javanese form is often used as a device to 'attract the address's attention', or as a signal for the speaker 'to change the subject of conversation, etc.' This usage is extended to Indonesian and is used constantly by uneducated as well as by educated speakers in informal situations. In the following example a college student talks with her friend about a particular fruit then changes the subject to other kinds of fruit:

84. Itu anu mba?, harós diimbu dulu. Kaló? di sana, anu, apa mba? buah-buahannya di sana?
Well, that fruit has to be ripened, sis. BY THE WAY, what kinds of fruits do people have in your region, sis?

This device is also used when they talk about the weather and suddenly change the subject to talk about their places of birth:

85. A: Musém hujan gini malah nda? begitu dingin ya?
In the rainy season such as this the weather is not so cool, is it?
- B: He?eh.
Uhm.
- A: Kaló? dé? Bandiah dari mana si dé??
BY THE WAY, where do you come from, Bandiah?
- B: Nganjó?
(I come from) Nganjuk.

Javanese K /meniko/ 'that' which corresponds to Indonesian /itu/ is also frequently used to start a new subject which has never been mentioned before. The extension of this usage to Indonesian by Indonesian speakers in East Java regardless of origin often confuses outsiders. In the following example, a group of students is talking about the weather when one of them suddenly changes the subject:

86. A: Dingin.
It's rather chilly.
- B: Ngga? normal kaló? dingin.
You must be unhealthy if this is chilly for you.
- A: Ngga? po?opo, mémang kemarén sunték.
It's nothing. Actually I got some shots yesterday.
- C: Saya juga? dingin dari tadi.
I've felt chilly myself, for some time now.
- D: Itu di Unbra itu, apa, yang orangnya yang seperti
 ngga? séhat, itu, yang paké? anu itu, itu uda lulus itu?
*Hey, how about THAT guy at Brawijaya University, who
 looks unhealthy and wears, whatchemecallit, has he
 graduated yet?*

Javanese N /wong/ 'man, human' which is equivalent to Indonesian /orang/ is also used in Javanese as a conjunction 'because, as'. This usage is extended to Indonesian /orang/ primarily by illiterates to sound educated and is strongly avoided by educated speakers. For example, the servant in example 45 (see 3.1.5) uses it in:

Abés kaló? nda? banya? mbéca? ya nda? kuwat, orang sudah tua.
*Because if I don't take a pedicab I won't have the strength
 to go anywhere SINCE I'm too old (to walk).*

In another example, a Peranakan woman tells her Peranakan acquaintance the reason for her coming trip:

87. Apa Nes, orang tante ini dateng sana suruh masa?
*It's not a trip for pleasure Nes, SINCE they invite me
 to go there to cook.*

Javanese N /wés/ 'already' or K /sampón/ is equivalent to Indonesian /sudah/. However, in Javanese it is also often used as a device which resembles the English 'Okay?' or 'right?' and the like which is usually added to a sentence. This usage is extended to Indonesian /sudah/ and is found in the speech of illiterates as well as that of educated speakers, primarily in informal speech situations. In the following example, a vendor of flowers uses it in bargaining with his customer:

88. Customer: Masa? ngga? bisa kurang pa??
Are you sure that I cannot get it cheaper?
- Vendor: És, kurang sdikitlah sudah. És brapa sampéyan.
*WELL, just a little less, OKAY? How much do
 you want?*

The vendor also uses the loan Javanese /és/, a short form of /wés/. In another example, an educated young man bargains with a vendor of fruits:

89. Satu duapuluh lima ditambah satu itu dah (short for: sudah).
Twenty-five rupiahs each, plus one extra, over there, OKAY?

Javanese N /yo/ or /iyo/ 'yes' or K /inggéh/ is equivalent to Indonesian /ya/ or /iya/, but in Javanese it is also used as an adverb 'also'. Many Indonesian speakers in East Java regardless of origin frequently extend this usage to Indonesian /ya/ as a replacement of the standard Indonesian /juga/ 'also'. A night watchman uses it in:

90. Sódara saya ya ada yang di sana.
I have a relative who is there ALSO.

In another example, a white collar worker says to his acquaintance:

91. Lha saya libór ya hanya dua hari tu.
I ALSO have a two-day holiday only, you know.

3.2.4. LOAN JAVANESE SPECIAL ITEMS AND MARKERS OF VARIOUS KINDS

There are a number of adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, particles and the like in Javanese whose occurrence may create a certain key or a certain atmosphere in a conversation and which are frequently borrowed into Indonesian for a similar effect. Many of these items are widely accepted in East Javanese society while some of them are avoided by educated speakers because they sound uneducated.

The forms which are frequently used by illiterates and Peranakan Chinese speaking PCI and are avoided by educated speakers are: /ambè?/ or /mbè?/ 'and, while', /bè?é/ 'maybe, possibly', /mè?/ 'only', /nè?/ 'if, when', /ta?/ '(first person agent before a passive verb)', /tau/ 'ever', /waé/ or /aé/ 'just', to replace Indonesian /dan/ or /dengan/, /barangkali/, /hanya/, /kalow/, /saya/, /pernah/, /saja/ respectively. E.g., a servant uses /mbè?/ 'while' when talking about her mistress:

92. Ya mbaca mbè? tiduran.
Well, she reads WHILE lying down.

An elderly Peranakan woman uses /ambè?/ when talking with another Peranakan:

- Tante ini cuma? mbeli?no baki ambè? buah-buahé.
I only bought the tray AND the fruits.

A Peranakan employer uses /bè?é/ when talking with her Peranakan employees:

93. Itu paké? kayu, murah bè?é.

Maybe they use firewood so that it is inexpensive.

A Peranakan college student uses it when talking with his classmate, also a Peranakan:

La iyo bè?é. Trós ini Séswanto ini juga? bapa? ibu?

Probably that's it. Is this Siswanto also Mr. and Mrs.?

A servant uses / mè? / when talking about her mistress:

94. Kalo? ari Kemés ibu? mè? sebentar prèinya.

On Thursdays she ONLY has short breaks between classes.

A Peranakan Chinese student uses it when talking with another Peranakan:

Jadiné mè? ini tho? ya?

So, is this all?

A Javanese masseuse uses / nè? / in her speech:

95. Dimana nè? manggél? Di Mbarèng?

Where is it, IF you want to send for her? In Bareng?

A Peranakan employer uses it when talking with her Peranakan employees:

Lha nè? sratós tu nda? nótot tu. Nda? cókóp mbayar.

IF we sell one hundred rupiahs each it won't cover the production cost, you know.

A servant uses / tau / in her response:

96. Visitor: Ana? mana si mbo? itu?

Where does she come from?

Servant: Nda? tau ya. Nda? tau tanya? itu.

I don't know. I never asked.

A Peranakan student uses it when talking with another Peranakan student:

Só?alé di Unbra itu dosèné nda? tau mlebu.

The problem at Brawijaya University is that the teacher NEVER comes to class.

The Javanese /wés/ 'Okay, well, right, etc.' which is often shortened to /és/ and whose usage is extended into Indonesian /sudah/ (see example 87 in 3.2.3) can also be included in the list above. For example, it is used in a conversation between two educated Peranakan:

97. Lha wés nè? ma?é mau nunggu ya nunggu, nè? nda? nda? usah, cé? biar dhè?é makan dhèwè?.

OKAY, let the mother wait if she is willing to wait, if not, she doesn't have to and let him eat alone.

And a Peranakan employer uses it in:

Nda? nóttót wés ne? sa? gitu.

It won't cover the production cost if we have to sell that much, YOU KNOW.

The loan /aé/ is very common among Peranakan, as in:

98. Ambilen aé, skarang masó? klas.

JUST take it. Now let's go to class.

There are other forms similar to the forms above but with a larger distribution, i.e., used also by educated speakers primarily in informal situations. They are: /kaya?/ 'as, be like' (standard: seperti), /mbo?/ '(a marker of preference in a request, etc.)' (no Indonesian equivalent), /séng/ '(relative pronoun: who, which, that)' (standard: /yang/), /tho?/ 'nothing else, only' (standard: /saja/), /wong/ 'as, because, though' (standard: /sebab/, /walowpón/). For example, /kaya?/, the Indonesianised /koyo/ 'be like' is heard in a conversation among a group of college students:

99. Bawahnya cukóp luas kaya? Sarinah itu ya?

Is the ground floor large enough LIKE that of the Sarinah department store?

A pedicab driver uses it in:

Iya kan, sama cika? itu kan ada anunya apa, kaya? préng gitu.

Yes, just like a cart it has a, what do you call it, it looks LIKE a bamboo pole, you know.

The loan /mbo?/ is used by a university teacher while chatting with his colleagues on a tennis court:

100. Mi, ko? berdiri sendiri aja mbo? dudó? si dini. Takót aduh.

Mi, why are you standing there all alone. PLEASE take a seat over here. You are not embarrassed, are you?

A Peranakan woman uses it when talking with another Peranakan about some fruit:

Itu séng cili?-cili? itu aé. Mbo? séng sa? gini-gini aé.

Just the small ones. I PREFER the ones which are this small.

The loan /séng/ is used by a non-Peranakan college student when he chats with his non-Peranakan friends:

101. Mémang polesé departemèn itu yang bèb? sekali séng orang terpaksa dibawa arós ke sana ke marl.

It is actually the policy of the department which is bad WHICH causes people to be confused.

A servant uses it when describing a neighbour:

Yang rambót panjang itu èlè? ati itu. Laén ambé? séng
lucu itu.

*The one with the long hair is unkind. She is unlike the
one WHO is cute.*

This loan is also commonly used among Peranakans (see example of /mbo?/ above). The loan /tho?/ is used by a servant when talking about her husband's illness:

102. Visitor: Sakét to mbo?, dulu sampèy meninggal itu?
Did your husband die of some illness?

Servant: Satu minggu tho?. Panas.
He had a fever for JUST one week, AND NOTHING ELSE.

An educated young man uses it when talking with a vendor:

Jualan bunga tho? atow, laénnya, nda??
Do you sell NOTHING ELSE BUT flowers or also some other goods?

An army captain uses /wong/ when chatting with his colleagues:

103. Tapi tindakan tanpa ada bukti ya laen, ah. Wong ini
só?alnya só?al rumét ko?
*But taking strong measures without finding all the evidence
is out of the question, you know, SINCE this problem is
actually a difficult one.*

This loan is very commonly used among Peranakans as exemplified in the following:

Lha habés gimana aku kalo? nganter wong situ sudah dianter
maminya ko?.

*I don't know what I would have done if I had accompanied
her SINCE she was accompanied by her mother.*

The loan /wong/ has a wider distribution than the loan translation /orang/ since the latter sounds uneducated (see discussion on orang in 3.2.3).

Indonesian speakers in East Java also use a number of Javanese particles in addition to the commonly used Javanese particles which have been widely used in many regions in Indonesia including /lhó/ 'a marker of surprise', /lha/ 'a marker of approval, so', /ko?/ 'a marker of disapproval, surprise, /si/, a particle put at the end of an interrogative sentence, also used as a particule to mean 'as for ...' or to make a 'surprise'. The other particules are of typical East Javanese ones and are constantly used by non-educated speakers and are used by educated

speakers primarily in very intimate and relaxed situations. They are: /a/ '*right, you know, isn't it, does it*' usually put at the end of a sentence; /ta/ '*I am sure about it but correct me if I am wrong*' put at the end of a sentence, or just as a 'question marker', or when placed between two elements or choices about which the speaker is not sure, is an indication of 'doubt'; /la?/ '*(a confirmation from the speaker about the subject discussed which the addressee might have learned before)*' usually put before the predicate; /lhé/ '*(a confirmation from the speaker to contradict the addressee's opinion, statement)*' usually put at the beginning of a sentence or after the predicate (as an emphasis, sometimes in both positions); /to/ which is also used in Central Java '*(indicating that the speaker knows the subject of discussion and wants the addressee to agree with him)*' usually put at the end of a sentence. In East Java /to/ is often combined with /la?/ while in Central Java with /ra?/ to give approximately the combined meanings of /la?/ and /to/. The East Javanese /sé/ which partially corresponds to the widely used particle /si/ is commonly used to replace /si/ when put at the end of an interrogative sentence as 'a question marker' with an additional meaning something like '*can you tell me, I want to know*'. It is also used to mean '*of course*' particularly following /yo/ '*yes*' or /nda?/ '*no*'. The following illustrations are taken from various informal conversations. For example, /a/ is used by a vendor of flowers who tells his customer about a grafted rose:

104. Paléng bawah ini kan mawar pager a. Lha ini sdah dikólasi ini.

*This stem is actually an ordinary hedge rose, YOU KNOW.
Whereas this upper part is grafted to the stem.*

In another example, /a/ is used among Peranakan students who are talking about how to invite their teachers:

Dikasi?no dósèn-dósèn a ini?

These invitations are all sent to the teachers, AREN'T THEY?

An educated woman uses /ta/ in her response to an explanation made by a servant:

105. Servant: Itu lhó, kan ada bijinya dhondhong itu, diguntingi sampè? kecil, lantas docancang benang, dimasó?no mólot.

You know that a dhondhong fruit has a thorny seed? Well, the thorn-like part is removed and the remaining is tied to a piece of thread, then put into your mouth.

Educated

woman: Ngga? sakét ta?

Isn't that painful? (I'M SURE IT IS.)'

A Peranakan woman uses it in:

Sa?éna?é aé. Tanggal tujuhbelas ta delapanbelas.

(I'll go home as) it suits me best. IT MIGHT BE the seventeenth or the eighteenth (I'm NOT SURE).

The loan /la?/ is used among Peranakan students in:

106. Lhó engga?, dia la? lèwat rumah.

Oh, no, I KNEW THAT she went past my house.

A high school teacher uses it when talking with his colleagues:

Itu adé?nya pa? Mèmèt masó?nya di èsèma la? saya yang anu. . . .

(I'M TELLING YOU THE TRUTH THAT) Memet's brother has been admitted at high school because I helped him. . . .

The loan /lhé/ is used by a vendor of black caps to convince the prospective buyer:

107. Buyer: Buatan mana ini ko? ginl?

Where do people manufacture things with not-so-good quality like this?

Vendor: Asli Nggresé? tapi bahannya luar lhé.

It was manufactured in Gresik but CONTRARY TO WHAT YOU MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT the material had been imported from abroad.

In another instance, a graduate student tells her friend about a teacher whom many teachers thought to be not so good:

Tapi pa? Bardi itu tliti lhé. Pé?èr apa itu dimasó?kan ko?.

But CONTRARY TO WHAT MANY PEOPLE THINK OF HIM, Mr. Bardi is a good and careful teacher. He takes into account all the assignments he gave us, you know.

The student above also uses /to/ when talking about her other friend:

108. Iya, dan dia seréng absèn to.

Yes, and he skips class so often, DON'T YOU THINK SO?

Among Peranakans /to/ is also very frequently used such as in:

Laporan dari ini blon diminta?i to?

They haven't asked for the report on this, have they?

And the following example of /la? . . . to/ is taken from a conversation between two Peranakan college students:

Mahasésua lama séng beragama krésten la? mesthiné ada to?
I'M SURE that there are old students who are Christians,
DON'T YOU THINK SO?

The loan /sé/ is used by a white collar worker talking to his colleague:

109. A: Ya bawa spéda, wong punya spéda ko?
Why don't you take your bicycle since you have one.
- B: Males sé. Terlalu anu tenaganya.
OF COURSE I'm too lazy to do that since it wastes too much energy.

In another example, an educated woman uses it when talking with a servant:

- Visitor: Uangnya buat apa sé?
CAN YOU TELL ME what the money is for?
- Servant: Simpen, mau bikén beli tanah.
I'm saving it to buy a lot.

3.2.5. OTHER FORMS WHICH ARE NOT USED IN STANDARD INDONESIAN

In East Java there are also certain forms which deviate from ordinary forms and which are frequently used by certain groups of people. Not all of these originate in Javanese, nor are all of them peculiar to East Java. There are also Indonesian forms whose phonological shape has been influenced by Javanese cognates. Some of the commonly used forms of Javanese influence are: /isa/ 'able, to, can' (standard: /dapat/ or /bisa/, Javanese: /iso/); /kena?/ or /kenè?/ 'undergo, suffer from, get hit by, etc.' (standard: /menderita/, one of the uses of the affix ke- . . . -an, etc., Javanese: /keno/, E. Javanese: /kenè?/); /lantaran/ 'because, because of' (standard: /karena/, /sebab/, Javanese: /lantaran/ 'reason, cause'); /masi/ or /masi?/ 'even though' (standard: /meskipun/, /walowpón/, E. Javanese: /masio/); /ndé?/ 'in, at' (standard: /di/, E. Javanese: /ndhé?/). These forms are frequently used in NEJI and in PCI, while /kena?/ and /isa/ are also often used in EJI in informal situations. The following examples are taken from various informal situations. One white collar worker while talking uses /bisa/, the other /isa/:

110. A: Bisa untó? tidór ya?
CAN you sleep in that express train?
- B: Tidor cuma? gini, nda? isa gitu.
You CAN sleep while reclining but not lying down.

A Peranakan uses it while talking with his Peranakan friend:

Enti? nè? isa ta? kerja?no.
I'll do it if I CAN.

A Peranakan woman tells her acquaintance about her headaches:

111. Kepala ini bè?é kenè? ujan. Tante cé? nda? betah kenè? ujan
 (standard: kehujaan).
Maybe because my head GOT WET IN THE RAIN. I wonder why
I cannot stand RAIN WATER.

A Peranakan young man walks to an older Peranakan about a cold:

112. Enda?, itu bukan bronkitis, juga? lantaran terlalu dingin.
No, it is not bronchitis. It is also CAUSED by intense cold.

A vendor of flowers in bargaining with a college student uses /masi?/:

113. O nda? boléh. Sepuluhan nda? ada. Ya masi?o percoba?an.
Oh, no, I cannot let you have it for ten rupiah each EVEN
THOUGH it is for an introduction for a new customer.

A Peranakan woman uses /masi?/ in:

Pinter dagang, nè? suruh dagang ciami? masi? wédo?-wédo? itu.
They are all good at trade EVEN THOUGH they are girls.

Peranakan college students use /ndé?/ when they talk with one another as in:

114. Untó? rapat ya itu biasaé ditolés ndé? situ.
To make reports at meetings, we usually write them IN
that book.

A masseuse (dhukón pijet) uses it in:

Cuma? sedikit dua taón itu. Cucu? saya yang ndé? rian itu
 sudah dua taón,
Two years are not long. I have a grandchild who has been
IN Irian for two years now.

Among the numerous sub-standard forms not of Javanese origin or influence and which are in use in various places in Indonesia, the following forms are found in the data: /ambé?/ 'take' (standard: /ambé/), /blón/ or /blon/ 'not yet' (standard: /belóm/), /lantas/ 'then' (standard: /ialu/), /mangkané/ 'therefore' (standard: /oleh karena itu/), /misi?/ 'still' or 'remain' (standard: /maséh/), /nyang/ 'which, who, that' (standard: /yang/), /pegi/ or /pigi/ 'go, leave' (standard: /pergi/), /sonder/ 'without' (standard: /tanpa/) and /rèken/ 'calculate, estimate' (standard: /mengira ira/). These forms are constantly used

in PCI. Except for /sonder/ they are also constantly used in NEJI. Educated speakers normally avoid them except for forms such as /rèken/ and /blón/ which might appear in EJI in intimate situations. The following examples are taken from various informal conversations. A Peranakan uses /ambi?/ to his Peranakan colleague:

115. A: Laku brapa?

How many of these have you sold?

B: Belóm. Ngambi?o (from /ambé?/) kertas putih ta? wuru?i.
I haven't sold a single one yet. TAKE a white sheet of paper. I'll show you how (to calculate).

A night watchman, a high school drop-out, uses /blon/ in:

116. Skarang yang saya blón ngerti perkata?an dia itu paké?
kè? gitu lhó.

Now the code he uses which I STILL DON'T understand is the use of kè? in every word, you know.

A Peranakan employee uses /lantas/ to his Peranakan colleague:

117. Lantas owé pikér kasi?no Danièl aé.

THEN I thought it would be better if I just gave it to Daniel.

A masseuse uses it in:

Kaló? mbah sakét pigi dokter, sónték, lantas kasi? óbat.
If I get sick I usually go to the doctor, get some shots, THEN he usually gives me some medicine.

The form /mangkané/ is used among Peranakans in:

118. Iya, mangkané tulisen dari, dari setiap sèksi gitu lhó.
That's right, THEREFORE you should write them all according to their sections, Okay?

A masseuse uses /misi?/ when talking with a customer:

119. A: Suaminya maséh ada?

Is your husband still alive?

B: Sudah mati. Iya, misi? satu taón. Baru non, misi?
satu taón.

He died a year ago. NOT LONG, JUST a year ago, miss.

A servant uses /nyang/ when talking with a visitor about a girl in the neighbourhood:

120. Ayu wong rambótnya panjang itu lhó, nyang kecil itu,
nyang kurus itu.

The tiny and slender one (lit. the one WHO) is pretty, especially because she has long hair.

A Peranakan woman uses /nyang/ when talking to her Peranakan friend:

Anu, awa?é capè?, engkoh nda? boléh, apalagi nyang laki kan nda? mau gi gréja.

Well, she was tired and was not given permission to go and also her husband (lit. the one WHO is the husband) doesn't go to church, you know.

A masseuse uses /pigi/ in her speech (see quotation 117 above). A servant uses it in:

121. Ibu mau pigi, mulang.

My mistress will be GOING, teaching.

A Peranakan woman uses /pegi/ in:

Tadi malem dia itu anu, pegi anu, ulang tauné arè?-arè? itu lhó.

Last night he WENT to his friends' birthday parties.

A Peranakan woman uses /sonder/ when talking about her son:

122. Ini tadi sonder dibanguni pas amblas barangkali mbalè?no Honda.

This morning he happened to just leave WITHOUT being awakened before. Probably taking the motorcycle back.

And a woman vendor who wants her customer to state a price uses /rèken/ in:

123. Ya sampeyan rèken brapa?

Well, How much do you THINK IT IS WORTH?

CHAPTER FOUR

TERMS OF ADDRESS AND PRONOMINALS

4.0. INTRODUCTION

The use of Terms of Address (TA) and Pronominals (PR) which place participants in a conversation and persons referred to very clearly reflect the importance of place in East Javanese ethics. There is a large variety of TA and PR but there is not a great deal of choice as to which one is used in any given situation. The choice of TA or PR clearly states the speaker's relationship vis-à-vis the other participants and thus pre-determines the future course of their dealings. For example, the title /jeng/ is ordinarily given to a high status female by older persons of the same status and of higher status than herself. A female person of lower status may give this title if she is much older than the addressee, but no male of lower status or no low status female not a great deal older than the addressee may give this TA. We have an example of a pedicab driver who gives the title /jeng/ to a woman of higher status. The woman is insulted because it implies that the driver is her equal in status. Further, the title /jeng/ is used only in informal situations. In formal situations /jeng/ is not proper, and the TA /sowdara/ or /sowdari/ substitutes for /jeng/ in formal situations. Thus if a woman is addressed as /jeng/ by her superior during office hours she would feel that her superior regards her not as an employee but as a friend, and she would respond to /jeng/ by attitudes and behaviour not proper for a formal employee and her superior. Outside of the office, however, /jeng/ might be quite all right. In the following sections choices of TA and PR as dictated by East Javanese social values will be discussed, each with illustration.

4.1. TA AND PR, THEIR FORMS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

There is a host of TA and PR in everyday use in East Java. The factors which determine the choice will be discussed later. Here we just give a short synopsis of what they are and the appropriate level of respect, distance, formality that the choice of these forms implies. To illustrate these we take the second person pronouns: (1) /kowé/ or /koen/, N Javanese second person pronouns implying intimacy, familiarity and used almost exclusively to children or people one has known since childhood; (2) /kamu/, the Indonesian equivalent of /kowé/, but not as restricted; (3) /yu/, a borrowing from English, used among educated interlocutors, also addressed to educated strangers; (4) /ü/ (rounded /i/), a borrowing from Dutch, used primarily by educated speakers of the older generation to strangers; (5) /sowdara/, /anda/, formal business-like terms of address to strangers, a general audience and the like; (6) /sampéyan/, K Javanese used frequently in Indonesian to address people of (almost) any class; (7) /penjenengan/ KI Javanese implying membership in the top elite. A number of other terms of address are used which do not come up in the data. In addition to this, the term of reference frequently is the same as the term of direct address and so theoretically any PR can substitute for a TA. Finally, there is the avoidance pattern in which no TA is used at all and the word meaning '*there (near you)*' is substituted for the TA in cases where a second person pronoun is unavoidable (Indonesian: /situ/, /disitu/, Javanese: /kónó/). There are also a great number of PR which refer to all sorts of kinship relations. There are literally dozens of choices for the second person pronoun.

4.2. SOCIAL FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE THE CHOICE OF TA AND PR

The social factors which determine TA and PR operate in hierarchical order. One factor has precedence over another. The factor of situation, that is, work over social or official over non-official takes precedence over most other factors which determine this choice. (See a short discussion of /sowdari/ over /jeng/ in 4.0.) In unofficial situations the variable kin has precedence over other variables. Whenever the speaker and the addressee or the person referred to are related, the relationship according to the family tree must be clearly stated by TA and PR and the other variables such as age, status are to be disregarded. A Javanese who is a parent's younger brother, for example, must be addressed and referred to as /pa? lé?/ '*uncle*' even though he may be younger than the nephew or niece who is speaking, whether or not they know each other well, and regardless of the mutual status. (The terms for uncle and

aunt /pa? lé?/ and /bu lé?/ are also applied to consanguines, so that a very distant relative whom one does not know well and who may be of greatly inferior status to the speaker is still given the title /pa? lé?/, if that is the relationship to the speaker.) On the other hand, ethnicity overrides this factor. A non-Javanese may not be addressed as /pa? lé?/ even though he might have married the speaker's /bu lé?/ 'aunt' of a Javanese family. Ordinarily he is addressed as /óm/ 'uncle', a borrowing from Dutch. There are terms of address which state the specific ethnicity of the addressee whose choice depends on the ethnicity of the speaker.

The approximate hierarchical order of the important social factors is as follows: (1) Situation: official (or work) and social (or unofficial); (2) Ethnicity: Javanese, non-Javanese (Madurese and outer islanders), Peranakan Chinese and foreigners; (3) Relationship: kin and non-kin; (4) Degree of intimacy: close (or intimate) and distance (or non-intimate); (5) Status: high, equal and low; (6) Age: older, of the same age, or younger than the speaker; (7) Sex: male and female; (8) Marital status: married and unmarried; (9) Origin: urban and rural.

4.2.1. CHOICE OF TA AND PR IN OFFICIAL SITUATIONS

Official situations are situations where people are related to one another for business or official purposes. In East Java people divide these situations into formal and informal ones and mark the distinctions of the two in speech by using different TA and PR.

4.2.1.1. Choice of TA and PR in Formal Situations

Norms and rules which control people's behaviour and speech in formal situations are a great deal stricter, i.e., allow for a great deal less variation, than those in informal situations. In formal situations people are supposed to know their respective statuses, their role relationship with one another according to rank and how to behave according to their respective well-defined rights and duties. The feeling of *sungkan* towards one's superior or a person of higher rank should also be reflected in speech, namely in the choice of TA and PR. In East Java there are a number of business and government offices which maintain formal role relationships among the employees and when dealing with visitors, and the conduct of dealings during office hours is considered a formal situation. However, there are also many other offices (lower or local level) in which the daily routine business is considered formal situations. These official dealings include meetings, conferences, ceremonies, dealing with visitors or the like. The accompanying table

(Table 6) illustrates the choice of TA and PR in formal situations which an employee or a visitor should use according to the identity of the addressee and the role relationship between him and the addressee. By identifying the addressee, the speaker also implies his own identity and assumes a role relationship with the addressee before he makes the appropriate choice of TA and PR for the addressee.

As illustrated in Table 6, the choice of TA and PR in formal situations is very limited, namely, /bapa?/ or /pa?/ 'father', /ibu/ or /bu/ 'mother', /sowdara/ or /sowdari/ 'comrade' or 'female comrade', /tuan/ 'Mr.', /nyonya/ 'Mrs.' and /nona/ 'Miss'. Further, the ethnicity of the speaker is irrelevant.

TABLE 6
Choice of TA and PR in Formal Situations

Choice No.	Addressee's Identity								Choice of TA and PR	
	Ethnicity		Status			Age			Male	Female
	Ind	For	+	=	-	+	=	-		
1	v		v			v	v	v	Pa?	Bu
2	v			v		v	v		Pa?	Bu
3	v			v				v	Sowdara	Sowdari
4	v				v	v			Pa?	Bu
5	v				v		v	v	Sowdara	Sowdari
6		v	v			v	v	v	Pa?, Tuan	Bu, Nyonya, Nona
7		v		v		v	v		Pa?, Tuan	Bu, Nyonga, Nona
8		v		v				v	Sowdara, Tuan	Sowdari, Nyonya, Nona
9		v			v	v			Sowdara	Sowdari, Nyonya
10		v			v		v	v	Sowdara	Sowdari

Notes: Ind stands for Indonesian (Javanese, non-Javanese and Peranakan). For stands for foreigner (Western, Indian, Pakistani, etc.). v means that this variable is chosen. To produce an appropriate TA it is enough to choose one variable under one category, e.g., choose +, = or - under Age. +, =, or - with status mean: higher, the same or lower in status. +, =, or - with age: older, the same age or younger.

The TA /pa?/ and /bu/ are normally used to address persons of higher status than the speaker regardless of age (Choice 1) and persons of the same status who are either older or of the same age as the speaker (Choice 2). For example, the headmaster of a high school who is conducting an official meeting attended by teachers from different high schools in the city uses /pa?/ and /bu/ to address his colleagues:

124. Untó? merencanakan prógram kerja di anak cabang itu maka kali ini saya minta saran-saran dari ibu dan bapa?-bapa?.
To establish a programme for our local organisation
I need YOUR suggestions.

In another meeting an army captain is addressed as /pa?/ and in response he addresses and refers to a female participant, a high school teacher, as /bu/:

125. Teacher: Mula-mula bilang apa pada Tini itu pa??
What did she first tell Tini, SIR?
- Captain: Ngaku kaló? dia ngambél. Disuruh ketempat bu
 Hadi itu juga? mau.
She confessed that she took it and she was willing
to see MRS. Hadi when she was told to do so.

The TA /pa?/ and /bu/ are also commonly given to much older addressees who are lower in status than the speaker. For example, a doctor in a public hospital uses /bu/ to address an older female patient, a coffee shop owner who is considered lower in status than the doctor (see Choice 4):

126. Doctor: Namanya siapa bu?
What's your name, MA'AM?

In another example, a district head refers to an older village head as /pa? lurah/ 'Mr. Village Head' even though the speaker is much higher in rank:

127. Karna tamunya dari negri Blanda, pikirannya pa? lurah ini, si lempér ini sebaé?nya dibungkós sama plastik.
Because the visitor is from Holland, MR. VILLAGE HEAD thinks
that it would be better if the lempér (snack made from sticky
rice) is wrapped in plastic.

A number of foreigners in East Java who have been working as professors, teachers, consultants in various government projects, missionaries and the like who usually speak Indonesian are regarded as persons of high rank and status by the people with whom they deal and interact in the office and are ordinarily addressed as /pa?/ or /bu/. For

example, a Fulbright English teacher and his wife in Malang are always addressed by the students and his colleagues as /pa? bop/ '(Mr. Bob)' and /bu susan/ '(Mrs. Suzanna)'. At the bank and at the post office, however, the same couple is often addressed as /tuan/ and /nyonya/ 'Mr. and Mrs.' A number of foreigners who are working with private companies are usually addressed and referred to by the Indonesian employees of the same companies as /tuan/, /nyonya/ or /nona/. For example, a Belgian who is working with a cigarette company in Malang is addressed and referred to as /tuan labornye/ 'Mr. Laborgne' by the other employees (Choices 6 and 7).

The TA /sowdara/ or /sowdari/ is normally used to address a person of the same status or of lower status than the speaker (Choices 3, 5 and 9) and a person of the same age or younger than the speaker who is either of the same status or lower in status than the speaker (Choices 8 and 1?). For example, a district head who is presiding over an official meeting where he is the highest in rank addresses the audience as /sowdara/ as in:

128. Sowdara-sowdara skalian kami ingén memberikan seditit e, penjelasan-penjelasan.
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, we would like to give um, some explanations.

In another example, at a formal meeting attended by the neighbourhood head (RK) some elders and some youths' representatives, a young man addresses and refers to his colleagues as /sowdara/:

129. Setelah kami buat atow kami rancangan, ketua menjadi sowdara Haidu, wakél ketua sowdara Jainal Arifén. . . .
After we made up our mind, we would like COMRADE Haidu to be chairman, comrade Zainal Arifin vice chairman. . . .

A student from Iran in Malang is commonly addressed as /sowdara/ by the teachers and so is a young American teaching assistant by older Indonesian teachers and professors (Choice 10).

The terms /nyonya/ and /nona/ are often used to refer to 'married' and 'unmarried' women and in many offices in East Java these two terms are often used to address and refer to women in order to show these distinctions rather than to show respect and deference. For example, the patient who is treated by the doctor quoted in 126 above responds:

130. Patient: Nyonya Siyah.
MRS. Siyah.

She implies that she is a married woman but not a person of at least the same status as the doctor, otherwise she would have referred to

herself as /bu siyah/ as many people do when talking to a person of lower status and younger than the speaker. On the other hand, /tuan/ almost always implies high status and so an official at a district head office, for instance, will tend to use /sowdara/ to address a male foreigner of lower status, instead of /tuan/. The same official, however, may use /nyonya/ to address an elderly female foreigner of lower status, thinking that she is a married woman (Choice 9). Further, the terms /nyonya/ and /nona/ are not ordinarily given to uneducated rural women.

4.2.1.2. CHOICE OF TA AND PR IN INFORMAL SITUATIONS

As has been stated above (see 1.4 and 4.2.1.1) many offices in East Java consider the conduct of daily and routine activities informal situations. This makes the participants feel more relaxed and the atmosphere at the place of business more friendly. In such situations personal relationships outside the office which might have been established may have some influence on the role relationships they are engaging in their place of work. This influence also appears in their choice of TA and PR as illustrated in Table 7. In addition to the identity of the speaker, in such situations the relationship between the speaker and the addressee influences the choice but the ethnicity of the speaker does not.

Persons of higher status than the speaker regardless of age and intimacy are still treated with honour and respect and given the TA /pa?/ or /bu/ in a similar way people honour and respect them in formal situations. So, for example, a district head who conducts an informal meeting where he is the highest in rank, will be addressed and referred to as /pa? bupati/ 'Mr. District Head' by the participants who might also be his friends or strangers (Choice 1). The TA /pa?/ and /bu/ are also given to older colleagues (Choice 2) and older inferiors (Choice 5) regardless of intimacy. For example, teachers who address and refer to one another as /pa?/ or /bu/ normally address and refer to an older male janitor /pa?/ and an older female clerk /bu/.

Intimate equals normally use /mas/ 'brother' or /mba?/ 'sister' during office hours while students in class usually address and refer to one another with no title. For example, in response to the teacher's question a student says (Choice 3):

131. Saya hanya mengambél itu, gunténgnya Ati? tho?

I just took ATI's scissors.

Ati is the speaker's classmate. The speaker's name is Endang and she is often addressed by her classmates as /ndang/ as in:

TABLE 7
Choice of TA and PR in Informal Situations

Choice No	Relationship and Identity									Choice of TA and PR		
	Ethnicity		Relation		Status			Age			Male	Female
	Ind	For	Int	Dis	+	=	-	+	=	-		
1	v		v	v	v			v	v	v	Pa?	Bu
2	v		v	v		v		v			Pa?	Bu
3	v		v			v			v		Mas, no title	Mba?, no title
4	v		v			v				v	Mas, Dé?	Dé?
5	v		v	v			v	v			Pa?	Bu
6	v		v				v		v		Mas, Dé?	Dé?
7	v		v				v			v	no title	no title
8	v			v		v	v		v	v	Sowdara	Sowdari
9		v	v		v	v		v	v	v	Pa?	Bu
10		v		v	v	v	v	v	v	v	Pa?, Tuan	Bu, Nyonya, Nona
11		v	v				v	v	v		Pa?	Bu
12		v		v			v	v			Sowdara	Sowdari, Nyonya
13		v		v			v		v	v	Sowdara	Sowdara
14		v	v				v			v	no title	no title

Notes: See notes on Table 6 for the same symbols. Int stands for intimate. Dis stands for distant (non-intimate).

Lha kowé lahopo ngaku ha, Ndang?

Why did you squeal, NDANG?

A colleague who is addressed as /mas/ or /mga?/ may use /dé?/ 'younger sibling' in response, and vice versa. For example, a white collar worker asks her younger colleague to type a list of students' names for a person of higher rank than both of them (Choices 3 and 4):

132. A: Dé? Broto, tolong keté?kan daftar nama-nama maheséswa jurusan Hayat tingkat tiga untó? bu Nordén ini lhó.
BROTO, please type for Mrs. Nurdin the names of the third year students in the Biology Department.

B: Rangkap brapa, mba??
How many copies, SIS?

A superior may use /mas/ or /dé?/ to address and refer to an inferior whom he ordinarily addresses as /sowdara/ in formal situations (see quotation 128 above). For example, a government official asks his inferior a little favour:

133. Gimana dé?, kalo? bisa tolong pa? Gito ditélpon saja.
Why don't YOU give Mr. Gito a call?

To show intimacy a person of high rank may address a much younger inferior with no title. This device is also frequently used by teachers to address their much younger students as in the following (Choice 7):

134. Teacher: Éndang pernah mató? sama bapa? só?al-só?al yang ada hubungannya dengan só?al-só?al dulu itu?
ENDANG, did you ever tell your father about the problems which are similar to the ones we had discussed before?

When the superior is not on intimate terms with his inferior he may use /sowdara/ to address the inferior. This TA is also used by employees of about the same rank who do not know one another very well (Choice 8). In the following example, a dean of a university department talks to a group of students who come to his office to bid him good-bye before they go to the villages where they are assigned as student volunteers:

135. Dean: Saya yakén sowdara-sowdara akan belajar banya? sewaktu sowdara berada di désa-désa.
I'm sure that YOU will learn a great deal while YOU are staying in the villages.

Foreigners who have been working with the government offices or as teachers, professors, missionaries or the like are normally treated like Indonesian officials, i.e., they are addressed and referred to as

/pa?/ or /bu/ in their offices, particularly by Indonesians who have frequent contact with them or those who are connected in some way or other with the offices where these foreigners are working. These Indonesians (employees, students, etc.) normally address and refer to the foreigners as /pas/ or /bu/ when the latter are higher in rank or about the same rank as the speaker, regardless of their age and degree of intimacy (Choices 9 and 10). For example, Bob and Suzanna (see 4.2.1.1) are usually addressed as /pa? bop/ and /bu susan/ at school by his colleagues and students many of whom are not intimate with him or with his wife. People at the bank and in the post office usually address them as /tuan/ and /nyonya/ because they are not on intimate terms and also because the speaker does not know that /pa?/ and /bu/ are also applied to them at school. As a matter of fact, people in East Java have the tendency to address foreigners as /tuan/, /nyonya/ or /nona/ at the place of business unless the latter introduce themselves or are introduced to the Indonesians with other titles (/pa?/, /bu/, /mas/, etc.). As an example, the dean of the Department where /pa? bop/ is teaching once introduced a new teacher as /nona nènsi gé/ 'Miss Nancy Gill' to a group of teachers and students. A teacher in the group who happens to know her at another school and addresses her as /bu nensi/ 'Miss Nancy' suggests that the new acquaintances address her so too. Later the new colleagues and students address her as /bu nènsi/.

The title /sowdara/ is used by government officials to address and refer to a foreigner of lower status than the speaker while /nyonya/ is often used to replace /sowdar/ (Choice 12). (See also this usage in 4.2.1.1.)

To show intimacy a person of high rank may address a young foreigner with no title. As an example, a young student volunteer at IKIP Malang is frequently addressed as /jém/ 'Jim' by the teachers and professors from the same department where James is teaching, while many other teachers from different departments address him as /sowdara jém/.

4.2.2. CHOICE OF TA AND PR IN UNOFFICIAL SITUATIONS

In unofficial situations there are no office formalities, and in many such situations a great number of additional personal factors come into the picture: relatives or non-relatives, urban or non-urban origin, intimacy and the like. The most important factor in unofficial situations is family relationship or lack thereof. We shall take the case of choices of TA and PR among non-relatives first.

4.2.2.1. Choice of TA and PR among Non-relatives

Among non-relatives who interact in unofficial situations ethnicity is an important determining factor in choice of TA and PR in addition to some other factors. Because of some similarities in choice of TA between Javanese and non-Javanese (Madurese and outer islanders) and between Peranakans and foreigners as we shall see in the following sections, the choice of TA among non-relatives will be discussed according to these similarities.

4.2.2.1.1. Choice of TA and PR Among Javanese and Non-Javanese

The approximate choice of TA and PR according to the identity of the addressee related to the speaker and their degree of intimacy in the relationship is illustrated in Table 8. (The table does not exhaust all the TA and PR, but only lists those which occur in our data.) The TA /pa?/ and /bu/ among Javanese and non-Javanese imply high status or old age and so they are used to address or refer to persons of high status regardless of age who are not intimate with the speaker (Choice 1) or to elderly addressees of the same status or of lower status than the speaker (Choice 3). Thus, for example, an elderly janitor who runs into his young superior in the market normally addresses the young superior as /pa?/ to receive /pa?/ also, the former marking the high status while the latter the seniority in age. Among educated interlocutors who are intimate with one another the TA /om/ 'uncle' and /tante/ 'aunt' are used to address and refer to a much older addressee such as one's parents' friends, parents or older relatives of one's friend or the like. In the following example, a young lady addresses her father's good friend /om/:

136. Older: Dari Sarangan ke Cemoro Séwu itu jalannya luar biasa.
The road from Sarangan to Cemoro Sewu is really awful.

Younger: Iya, tapi Om bisa terós ke Solo.
Yes, but YOU can go straight to Solo.

The young lady's mother is Javanese but her father is an outer islander while the older friend is Madurese. The young lady addresses the older friend's wife as /tante/.

Many of the working people in the cities address their own parents /pa?/ and /ma?/. This usage is extended to parents of colleagues among this group or to elderly persons of the working group by a higher status speaker primarily when they are intimate with one another, otherwise /pa?/ and /bu/ are employed (Choice 4). In the following example, an elderly servant is addressed as /ma?/ by a young female vendor of vegetables who knows the servant well:

TABLE 8

Choice of TA and PR in Unofficial Situations Among Javanese and Non-Javanese

Choice No.	Relationship and Identity											Choice of TA and PR		
	Ethnic		Intim.		Status			Age			Origin		Male	Female
	Jav	Non	Int	Dis	+	=	-	+	=	-	Urb	Rur		
1	v	v		v	v			v	v	v	v		Pa?	Bu
2	v	v	v		v	v		v			v		Óm	Tante
3	v	v		v		v	v	v			v		Pa?	Bu
4	v	v	v				v	v			v		Pa?	Bu, Ma?
5	v		v	v			v	v				v	Pa?	Mbo?
6	v		v	v		v	v		v		v		Mas	Mba?yu, Yu(?)
7	v		v	v		v	v		v			v	Mas, Kang	Mba?yu, Yu(?)
8	v		v		v				v		v		Mas	Mba?yu
9	v		v		v					v	v		Mas	Jeng
10	v		v	v		v				v	v		De?, Na?	Dé?, Jeng, Na?
11	v	v	v				v			v	v		(no title)	(no title)
12	v	v	v	v			v			v	v		Na?, Gós	Na?
13	v		v	v			v			v		v	Le	Ndhó?
14		v	v			v			v		v		Ka?	Ka?, Ses
15		v		v		v			v		v		Mas	Mba?yu
16		v	v		v					v	v		Dé?	Dé?

Notes: See notes on Table 7 for the same symbols. Ethnic stands for Ethnicity; Intim. for degrees of intimacy; Jav for Javanese; Non for Non-Javanese; Int for Intimate; Dis for Distant (non-intimate); Urb for Urban; Rur for Rural.

137. Vendor: Blonjo a ma?, bayem, tomat, thèwèl, térong?
*Would you like to buy some spinach, tomatoes,
 jackfruit and eggplants, MOTHER?*

Servant: Iyo thithi?. Ono? wortel a ndhó??
Yes, a little. Do you have carrots, child?

The TA /mbo?/ is normally addressed to rural women who work in the cities as servants, vendors, as unskilled labourers by a person of higher status (Choice 5). In the following example /mbo?/ is used to address a servant by an uneducated woman:

138. Dulu waktu maséh muda katanya nanda? ya mbo?.
I heard that YOU used to be a dancer when YOU were young.

The TA /mas/ 'brother' and /mba?yu/ 'sister' are normally addressed to Javanese of about the same status as the speaker or lower who are about the same age or a little bit older (a couple of years older) than the speaker. /mba?yu/ is primarily used to married women while /mba?/ is usually addressed to unmarried young women (Choice 6). The response to /mas/, /mba?/ or /mba?yu/ is usually /dé?/ 'younger sibling', or /jeng/ 'younger sister' (Choice 10), but reciprocal /mas/ is also very common. The following example is taken from a conversation between two young ladies. The slightly older one is addressed as /mba?/ and the other as /dé?/:

139. Older: Masa? sendiri to dé??
Do YOU usually cook for yourself?

Younger: Enda? mba?, ngrantang.
No, SIS, we subscribe to meals and have them delivered.

In another example, two new acquaintances, a Balinese and a Javanese, use reciprocal /mas/. They are about the same in status and age:

140. Javanese: Mas Wayan pinter basa Blanda ya?
You know Dutch, don't YOU, WAYAN?

Later when they are talking about their families the Balinese says:

Balinese: Orang tua sudah meninggal. Kalow orang tua maséh
 ya masa? mungken begini mas.
*My old folks are all gone, otherwise my luck
 wouldn't have been this bad, BROTHER.*

Among Javanese good friends /yu?/ is often used to replace /mba?/ to show a very intimate relationship, particularly when they communicate in N Javanese. The following example is taken from a conversation between two very good friends who like to tease one another (Choice 6):

141. A: Yu?, ngampél bolpoiné sdhilu? yu?
Can I borrow your ballpoint for a second, SIS?

B: Mm, dhosèn ko? bolpoin wé nyiléh to dé?, dé?.
My, you are a college teacher, BROTHER, yet for a ball-point you must borrow from somebody?

The TA /kang/ 'brother' and /yu/ 'sister' are commonly used to address young male and young female uneducated rural Javanese addressees respectively. In the following example, an educated young man uses /kang/ to address a vendor of about his age (Choice 7):

142. Customer: Pisangé niki pintenan kang?
How much are these bananas, BROTHER?

Vendor: Sa? tóndhón niki nopo cèngkèhan
This whole bunch or a piece?

In another example, an educated Peranakan addresses her young maid /yu/ and her older servant /mbo?/:

143. Employer: Yu Nah, mbo? Tas udah pulang dari blanka?
Nah, has Tas come back from shopping yet?

Maid: Belón tu nyah muda.
Not yet, ma'am.

Among Javanese /mas/ and /mba?yu/ are used to address and refer to equals regardless of their intimacy and to intimate friends who may be of higher status than the speaker and who are about the same age as the speaker (compare Choices 6 and 8). To friends who are a bit higher in status but younger than the speaker the TA /mas/ and /jeng/ 'brother' and 'respectful little sister' are used. When using Javanese the TA /dhimas/ 'respectful little brother' is used instead of /mas/. To non-Javanese /dé?/ is often used to replace /jeng/ (Choice 16 instead of 9). For example, our elderly neighbours in Malang, a retired army sergeant and his wife always address the wives of the government officials, doctors, engineers and the like in the neighbourhood as /jeng/ (Choice 9) and young white collar workers and students as /na?/ 'child' (Choice 10). In the following example, a non-Javanese in the same neighbourhood uses /jeng/ to address her next door neighbour, a government official's wife:

144. A: Ma?af lhó jeng, banya? bledók. Ini pager témbo? ini apa, maséh harós dibikén betól.
I'm sorry for all the dust, MA'AM, but I'm afraid this stone wall must be repaired.

- B: Ngga? apa-apa, bésó? juga? slesèy to ses?
It doesn't matter, SIS. I know tomorrow it will be finished.

The non-Javanese is addressed as /ses/ 'sister', a loan from Dutch (Choice 14).

Friends' children and intimate friends much younger than the speaker are frequently addressed without using any title (called /njangkar/ in N). In the following example, a high school teacher who is also a graduate student addresses a young night watchman, a high school dropout without a title:

145. Older: Sugeng di mana tinggalnya?
Where do YOU live, SUGENG?
 Di jalan Bali blakang tumah sakit Supraun, terus saja.
On Jalan Bali behind Supraun hospital, at the end of it.

This usage of no title is applicable to young Javanese and non-Javanese friends as well (Choice 11).

The TA /na?/ is usually addressed to a much younger person who is approximately the age of the speaker's child or grandchild of about the same status or lower than the speaker's. This title is used for Javanese and non-Javanese addressees (Choice 12). In the following example /na?/ is used by an elderly saleswoman to address a young customer:

146. Young Man: Cóba-cóba nanti jadi langganan baru.
I'll try this and if it's all right I'll be your new permanent customer.
 Saleswoman: Ya, na? ya.
Sure, sure, CHILD.

The TA /gos/ 'boy' is mainly used to address boys but sometimes it is also used to address a much younger adult friend of long standing intimacy. For example, an elderly woman uses /gós/ to address a young Moslem preacher whom she has known since childhood:

147. Woman: Bagèymana gós saya ini ko?, apa itu, penyakét apa itu?
I don't know what's wrong with me, SON. I know I'm suffering from something but I don't know exactly what.
 Preacher: Knapa bu?
What's the matter, ma'am?

The TA /lé/ and /ndhó?/ 'little boy' and 'little girl' are primarily used to address Javanese rural children when communicating in Javanese.

For example, the small boys who pick up tennis balls for a fee and who usually come from rural families are often addressed as /lé/ by many of the tennis players. The following remarks are heard on the tennis court in Malang:

148a. Businessman: Jókó?no tèh sa? moci nang nggèné bu Amat lé.
SON, get a pot of tea from Mrs. Amat's,
will you?

148b. Officer: Lé, nèté klèru iki, moso? rówa?-rawè? ngéné rè?.
SON, this must be a wrong net because ours
doesn't have these big holes.

Some priyayis use /ndhó?/ and /lé/ to address their own small children and those of their close relatives. (In Central Java this usage is more common than in East Java.)

The TA /ka?/ or /kaka?/ 'older sibling' is frequently used to address non-Javanese friends and /ses/ is often used to address female non-Javanese friends, particularly Ambonese and Menadonese (Choice 14; see also quotation 144 above for /ses/). In the following example a Javanese female student addresses an older male student from Kalimantan as /ka?/:

149. Javanese: Ka?, kaló? Marabahan itu mana?
Do you know where Marabahan is, BROTHER?

Non-Jav.: Anu, sebelah utara Banjarmasin.
Well, it's north of Banjarmasin.

In the conversation, however, the same non-Javanese student is addressed as /mas/ by a Javanese male student who is about a year or two older than the addressee (Choice 15):

150. Javanese: Dimana mas? Yu dari Banjarmasin atow dari. . . .
Where did you say you came from, BROTHER? You
come from Banjarmasin or. . . .

Non-Jav.: Dari sini, apa, sebelóm Tabalóng ini, Amuntèy.
I come from, uhm, a place south of Tabalung,
belonging to the district of Amuntai.

In addition to the terms of address discussed above, in East Java there are two commonly used TA, namely /rè?/ from /arè?/ 'child' and /ca?/ 'brother', particularly when people are communicating in Javanese. The TA /rè?/ is used in a manner similar to the use of the English 'guys', 'fellows' and the like, i.e., to address friends, colleagues and persons whom the speaker is familiar with. It is also frequently used to address a child, particularly a boy, without implying the boy's

origin. However, it is not employed whenever the speaker is sure that the boy is the son of a person of high rank. (In Central Java the terms used for this purpose as /co/ or /konco/ 'friend' and /cah/ or /bocah/ 'child'.) The term /ca?/ 'brother' is used a great deal in Surabaya, Jombang, Mojokerto and their environs and to people coming from these areas. In the ludruk folkplay /ca?/ is primarily used to address a character who plays the part of a /ra?yat/ 'common people' such as a pedicab driver, a vendor, a blue collar worker and the like, while /mas/ is used to address a character who plays the part of a white collar worker, the adult son of one's master and the like. Young people, particularly college students in East Java often use /ca?/ directed at their friends, colleagues and acquaintances to promote a jovial and friendly atmosphere.

4.2.2.1.2. Choice of TA and PR among Peranakans and Foreigners

Peranakans and foreigners are usually treated rather differently in speech than are Javanese and non-Javanese in unofficial situations. The approximate choice of TA and PR directed at Peranakans and foreigners is illustrated in Table 9.

Nowadays there is a tendency for members of East Javanese society to address an unfamiliar Peranakan of high status as /pa?/ or /bu/. However, there are elderly people who are accustomed to addressing persons of higher status than the speaker, particularly Peranakans and foreigners as /tuan/ and /nyonya/. For instance, a Peranakan elderly woman at a film processing shop always addresses her educated customers as /tuan/ /nyonya/. In the following she is talking with a Peranakan customer, an educated young man who addresses her as /tante/ (Choice 1 for /tuan/ and Choice 4 for /tante/):

151. Young Man: Saya minta? ini ya tante?

May I have this, AUNTIE?

Woman: O, b6l6h, ya, tuan amb6l.

Oh, sure, YOU're welcome to take it.

To foreigners more people in East Java tend to use the TA /tuan/ or /nyonya/ except when the foreigners are introduced as /pa?/ or /bu/ or they prefer to be addressed so (see also similar discussions on /tuan/, /nyonya/ and /nona/ in 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.1.2). Many servants and vendors use /tuan/ 'Mr.', /nyonya/ 'Mrs.', and /nona/ 'Miss' to address foreigners and Peranakans. The TA /ny6/ or /siny6/ 'young master' and /non/ or /sinon/ 'young mistress' are often used to address educated Peranakan children by their servants. In the following example, a servant employed by an educated Peranakan family addresses and refers to the male employer

TABLE 9

Choice of TA and PR Addressed to Peranakans and Foreigners by Javanese and non-Javanese

Choice No	Relationship and Identity								Choice of TA and PR			
	Ethnic		Intim.		Status			Age			Male	Female
	Per	For	Int	Dis	+	=	-	+	=	-		
1	v	v		v	v			v	v	v	Pa?, Tuan*	Bu, Nyonya, Nona*
2	v	v	v		v	v		v			Óm	Tante
3	v	v		v		v		v			Sowdara, Tuan	Sowdari, Nyonya
4	v		v	v			v	v			Óm, Bah	Tante, Nyonya
5	v		v		v				v		Mas	Ses
6	v			v		v			v		Mas	Ses
7	v		v			v	v		v		Koh	Ci?
8	v	v	v	v			v			v	(no title)	(no title)
9		v	v				v	v			Óm	Tante, Nyonya
10		v	v			v			v		Sowdara, no title	Nyonya, no title
11		v		v			v		v		Sowdara	Sowdari, Ses
12		v	v				v		v		(no title)	(no title)

*The TA sinyó 'young master' and sinon or non 'young mistress' are often used to address educated Peranakan children and foreigners' children by their servants.

Notes: See notes on Table 6 and Table 8. Per stands for Peranakan.

as /tuan/, sometimes /tuané/, the wife of the employer as /nyonya/ as /nyah/ followed by the modifier /muda/ 'young', refers to the employer's children as /ana? ana?/ 'the kids' and addresses and refers to them also as /sinyó/ or /nyó/ and /sinon/ or /noni?/:

152. Servant: Kaló? mènjàs itu ana?-ana? suka?, kaló? tahu bosen.
Your CHILDREN like 'jenjes' (another kind of bean curd) but they get fed up with 'tahu' (another kind of bean curd).

Mistress: Saya juga? bosen.
I get fed up with it too.

Servant: Mbo? Tas itu rèpot kaló? nda? ada tuan sama nyah muda. Makan sampé? ke sana ke sini. Sinyó itu kaló? nyèncèng telór tiga nda? mau. Nè? noni? cuma? satu macem kaló? sudah cocok sudah mau.
I'm very busy when YOU (nyah muda) and YOUR HUSBAND (tuan) are not at home. I hardly have time to eat because I have to do lots of errands. YOUR SON usually wants more than three fried eggs but YOUR DAUGHTER is always happy with just one favourite sidedish of hers.

In another example, a traditional Javanese masseuse addresses a young American woman as /non/:

153. Non, kalo? punya temen bilang ya, "Saya ada dukon pijet".
MISS, if you have a friend please tell her that you know of a good masseuse.

The TA /óm/ and /tante/ 'uncle and aunt' are commonly used to address and refer to Peranakans and foreigners with whom the speaker is intimate. Among Peranakan themselves, however, /óm/ and /tante/ are used to intimates and non-intimates as well. Many people, particularly blue collar workers, frequently use /óm/ to address and refer to an unfamiliar foreigner to replace /tuan/. For example, a pedicab driver invites an American to take his pedicab by saying:

154. Óm, naé? béca? óm? Sratós limapuluh ke pasar.
Would you like to take my pedicab, SIR? It costs you only one hundred and fifty rupiahs to go to downtown.

In another example, a Peranakan customer addresses an elderly Peranakan saleswoman as /tante/ (Choice 2 or 4):

155. Ówé mau afdrek tante. Ko? Mingé ada?
I'd like to get some prints made, AUNTIE. Is Kok Ming around?

An unfamiliar male Peranakan of about the same status as the speaker's is likely to be addressed as /sowdara/, while an unfamiliar male foreigner may be addressed as /sowdara/ or /tuan/ by a speaker who is about the addressee's status, and /nyonya/ is likely to be used to address their wives instead of /sowdari/, even though there are a number of people who will address the latter as /sowdari/ (Choice 3). An elderly male Peranakan of lower status than the speaker may be addressed as /óm/ or /bah/. The former is generally used to show intimacy. The TA /tante/ and /nyonya/ are used in a similar fashion. For example, a government official's wife addresses a Peranakan saleswoman /nyah/ or /nyonya/ to receive /bu/ (Choice 4):

156. Customer: Brapa semuanya jadinya, nyah.
How much are they in all, MA'AM?

Peranakan: Tigablas tuju lima bu, semuanya.
*It's thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty
 rupiahs in all, MA'AM.*

In the following example a Javanese young man who is buying bicycle tyres at a Peranakan-owned small store addresses an elderly salesman /bah/ to receive /mas/ (Choice 4):

157. Customer: Ada ban spéda Denlop, bah?
Do YOU carry Dunlop bicycle tyres?

Peranakan: Abés mas. Intiróp aja, kaut ko?.
*It's sold out, BROTHER. Why don't you take
 Intirub tyres? They're also strong.*

The TA /mas/ and /ses/ 'brother' and 'sister' are normally used to address Peranakan friends of higher status than the non-Peranakan speaker (Choice 5). They are also used to address unfamiliar Peranakans of approximately the same status and age as the non-Peranakan speaker (Choice 6). In the following example, a government official is talking to his Peranakan friend, a Peranakan doctor's wife:

158. Javanese: Mas Béni ke mana ses, ko? ngilang.
Why has BENI disappeared? Where has he gone, SIS?

Peranakan: Ada arisan, sbentar juga? kembali.
*He's gone for the lottery club meeting. He'll
 be back soon.*

Young small traders of Chinese descent are usually addressed as /ngkoh/ or /koh/ 'brother' and /taci?/ of /ci?/ 'sister' by non-Peranakan customers. These TA are commonly used among Peranakans regardless of status. Among educated Peranakans /brur/ and /ses/ 'brother' and

'*sister*' borrowed from Dutch are often used in addition to /koh/ and /ci?/. In the following example a Javanese customer addresses a slightly older Peranakan salesman as /koh/ to receive /mas/:

159. Javanese: Séng iki piro koh?
How much is this one, BROTHER?

Peranakan: Rèken tigaratós limapuluh lah mas.
Take it for three hundred and fifty rupiahs, BROTHER.

In another example, a Peranakan missionary who is talking with her Peranakan colleagues uses /brur/ and /ses/ to address them and uses taci?/ '*sister*' and /engkoh/ '*brother*' when talking about her other colleagues:

160. Colleague A: Kuru bisa.
The sick man can become skinny.

Missionary: Ó nda? kuru brur, orangé gemu? misi?an. Di dokter itu soésial dibató?no
Oh, no, he isn't skinny, BROTHER. He's still plump. The doctor made him cough.

Colleague B: Kaló? kuekel gitu lhó ses Tió ya, itu kan dikasi? óbat ngluarken slèm.
You know, SIS, when he was coughing he had been given the remedy to get rid of the phlegm.

Missionary: Bató? terós, kluar slèm. Saya ya kasihan. Kan capè? ses berbulan-bulan dudó? terós.
He was coughing continuously. I felt sorry for him for it must have been exhausting for him to do nothing but sit for a long time, SIS.

When the missionary talks about her other Peranakan colleague and her husband she says:

161. Taci?, saya bilang, itu lhó engkoh itu sudah lama nda? gi gréja.
SISTER, I told her, YOUR HUSBAND hasn't gone to church for a long time, you know?

Persons of high status usually do not use a title to address children of Peranakans and foreigners who are of lower status than the speaker (Choice 8). Young adult foreigners who are slightly higher in status or approximately the same status as the speaker are often addressed and referred to with no title (Choices 10 and 12). In the following example, a Javanese woman addresses and refers to her American friends who are more or less of the same status as herself with no title:

162. Kemudian upacara memecah kelapa gadéng. Itu harós di depan rumah, disaksikan orang banya?. Di Sini berdiri Ann, di sini Frèd.

Then comes the yellow coconut cleaving ceremony. It should be carried out in front of the house and watched by all the guests. YOU stand right here and your husband FRED over here.

Many people in East Java, however, feel uncomfortable about using no TA to friends except those with whom they have a long-standing friendship. Consequently they often use /sowdara/ to address non-Indonesian friends (Choice 10 and Choice 11). Many others use /mas/ and /ses/ just as when they are addressing Peranakan friends or acquaintances (see Choices 5 and 6) or use the avoidance of TA (see 4.6).

The TA /óm/ and /tante/ are also used to address foreigners who are older and lower in status than the speaker. The term /nyonya/ is often used to replace /tante/ to show less intimacy (Choice 9).

The approximate choices of TA and PR illustrated above do not include certain factors such as personal past experiences, idiosyncrasy or the like which might influence an interlocutor in his choice of TA. However, we have covered and illustrated the general tendency of the choices of TA and PR made by an average member of East Javanese society. Further, in accordance with the principle of urép mapan of the East Javanese and which is also followed by members of other ethnic groups who are residents of East Java (see 2.1.1), the East Javanese tend to use TA and PR normally addressed to Javanese to any individual (including a foreigner) who shows understanding of Javanese culture (including the language), values and the like. The Javanese call such an individual /wés jowo/ 'already understands and acts according to Javanese values' (see 2.3.2). Thus, we may expect an American young man to be addressed as /mas/ and a Peranakan young lady as /jeng/ because they are /wés jowo/.

4.2.2.2. Choice of TA and PR Among Relatives

TA usages with kin in unofficial situations are rigidly prescribed. First, younger to older kin must use TA in an utterance addressed to elders and these TA specify the relation, e.g., the TA /mas/, short for /kangmas/ 'elder brother', /mba?/, short for /mba?yu/ 'elder sister' are directed at elder brother and elder sister respectively. Older members in the immediate family address a younger relative with no TA /njangkar/ in N). However, there are situations (times of excitement, distress, strong emotional influence) in which the older member can sometimes use a TA which indicates the addressee's family tie towards the speaker, e.g., /na?/ to one's own child, /dé?/ to a younger sibling.

These TA usages are extended to relatives beyond the immediate family and also include in-laws. In accordance with the *toto-kromo* in *basan-basanan* 'using correct TA and PR among relatives' a person should use a TA which indicates the addressee's relationship to the speaker regardless of age. A TA is used not only by younger to older but older to younger outside the immediate family as well, except in cases of mutual intimacy (like prolonged residence together, etc.). The proper TA is chosen regardless of actual age. For example, a young man has to address his uncle as /óm/ or /pa? lé?/ 'uncle' whether he is the same age, older or younger than the uncle and receives /na?/ 'child'. Similarly, he must address his aunt /tante/ or /bu lé?/ and receive the same /na?/ regardless of age. A married woman must address her younger brother-in-law /dé?/ although she may be actually younger than the brother-in-law. Male cousins address one another /mas/ short for either /kangmas/ or /adhimas/ 'older or younger brother'), while a younger female cousin addresses her male older cousin /mas/ and her female older cousin /mba?/ and receives /dé?/ (this contrast with younger and elder siblings where the younger receives no title). No title among relatives not in the immediate family is used only when they are very intimate.

In the presence or implied presence of one's children, one has the option of addressing his relative by the TA which is normally used by one's children directed at the relative (technonymy). For example, a person may address a cousin as /óm/ on behalf of his children who are expected to do so. Or he may address his nephew of his own age as /mas/ to represent his own children. This avoids the TA /na?/ which emphasises the generational difference and allows them to behave as intimately as would be normal for relatives of the same age. (This use of technonymy is also extended to non-kin relations.)

East Javanese speech to children is full of examples of models which elders give to children to instill the proper TA and PR. For example, an elder sister reminds Budi, her younger brother, not to play ball indoors. He answers:

163. Hari ki lhó, mba?.

Harry was playing ball, not me, sis.

Since Harry is the elder brother she corrects Budi by giving him a model in which he must address his elder brother /mas hari/ instead of just /hari/. She says:

Mas Hari, mba?.

It's Harry.

4.2.2.2.1. TA Usages Among Kin Which Reflect Certain Social Significance

The choice of TA among kin in East Java reflects the ethnicity, relationship, status and origin of the users.

Bapa? and ibu. These terms are the most commonly used TA to address one's own 'father' and 'mother'. From children of the white collar workers to those of the top elites all may use these TA. Many children in these families, particularly those who also speak Indonesian at home often use /ayah/ to address and refer to their own father and use /bapa?/ for other people's father. For example, the following is taken from a conversation among members of an educated Javanese family:

164. Uncle: Tadi Budi dulin.
Just now you played around after school, Budi.

Nephew A: Enda?
No.

Nephew B: Iya ko?, ksana maén trós dijempót ayah.
Yeah, to that direction before DADDY picked him up.

Papi, mami, papa and mama. Many educated people in East Java, particularly those of the older generation and their offspring use /papi/ and /mami/ to address their own parents and a number of educated people of the younger generation use /papa/ and /mama/ for the same purpose. The latter are also used by the Peranakans regardless of educational background. In the following example a Peranakan college student is talking with his Peranakan friend about a Javanese girl who uses /papi/ and /mami/ in her home:

165. Lha habés gimana aku kalo? nganter, wong situ sudah dianter maminya ko?
What could I do if I accompanied her since she had been accompanied by her MOTHER, you know.

In another example, a Peranakan saleswoman is talking to an acquaintance about the mother of a Peranakan friend:

166. Répot, tante ini répot, mulané diem-diem kemarén tante nda? pamitan ambè? mamaé nè? Minggu lagi nda? bisa gi gréja.
I'm really very busy, therefore yesterday I did not ask HER MOTHER's permission that I won't be able to go to church this coming Sunday.

Many educated families who use these TA often allow their children to use no title (/njangkar/) to address and refer to their elder siblings.

Bapa? and ema? or ma?. These TA are mainly used by the children of vendors, servants, blue collar workers and the like who live in the

environs of the city. These TA are also often used to address one's friend's parents among these people. In the following example, a young blue collar worker tells his mother that his friend and his friend's father are coming to see them (these TA are mainly used in Javanese):

167. Dhi|u? engkas wés rénéné, Tohér ambè? bapa?né, ma?.

Very soon Tohir and his father will be here, MOM.

Bapa?, simbo? or mbo?. These TA are mainly used by uneducated Javanese who live in the rural areas to address their own parents.

Lé?, mbo? cilé?, mbo? gedhé, wa?. Javanese in the rural areas described above also use /lé?/ to address one's parent's younger sibling or cousin in addition to /mbo? cilé?/ and /mbo? dhé/ which function like /bu lé?/ and /bu dhé/ among educated Javanese. Among the blue collar workers and the like who live in the neighbourhoods of the city /lé?/ is used for the same purpose above and /wa?/ is used to address one's parent's older sibling. These TA are also used to address non-relatives by these groups respectively. For example, Tohir in the example above uses /wa?/ to address his friend's mother, as in:

168. Bapa? kulo tómót ngriki é, wa?.

My father is coming here with me, you know, AUNT.

Kangmas, dhimas and mas. The first two terms are mainly used by adult Javanese elites when speaking in K. They are more commonly used to address in-laws and non-immediate family members. The TA /mas/ is the most commonly used TA to address relatives of immediate as well as non-immediate families and is in use among relatives of blue-collar workers and the like as well as among those of the top elites, when speaking Indonesian or Javanese. /mas/ 'brother', /kangmas/ 'elder brother' and /dhimas/ and /adhimas/ 'younger brother' are also used among non-kin, particularly /mas/ (see Table 8).

Mba?yu, mba?, yu and yu?. The TA /mba?yu/ is normally directed to a married older female relative. Javanese or non-Javanese who is married to or related in some other way to a Javanese. This TA is used among relatives regardless of status or origin. The TA /mba?/, on the other hand, is normally used to address young female relatives, particularly unmarried ones. /mba?/ is in use among relatives belonging to the white collar workers as well as among those of higher status people. Both /mba?yu/ and /mba?/ are used in Javanese and Indonesian as well. On the other hand, /yu/ and /yu?/ are mainly used in Javanese to address an elder sister. /yu/ is used primarily among uneducated Javanese relatives, but /yu/ and /yu?/ are also used by educated Javanese to show a great deal of intimacy. (See also their other usages in Table 8.)

Dé? (I), dhé? (J) and jeng. These TA are used in Javanese and Indonesian as well and are usually directed at in-laws, cousins and their spouses. /dé?/ can be addressed to a male or female relative whose relationship is considered younger than the speaker, 'younger brother' or 'younger sister'. /jeng/ is mainly used when the speaker wants to honour the addressee, a younger sister-in-law, the wife of a younger cousin, a distant female cousin and the like. /dé?/ is used among people regardless of social status or origin while /jeng/ is mainly used among the elites and educated people. The TA /jeng/ is also used by educated Javanese to address their wives, particularly the newly wedded elites. Many of them continue to use /jeng/ after they have children particularly when the children are not present. In the presence of their children they usually use /bu/ (technonymy). For example, a government official who has been married for about three years introduces his wife to an old friend of his in Javanese:

169. Jeng, iki lhó Pa? Basuki séng biyén seréng ngeja? aku mungguh gunung.

MY DEAR, I'd like you to meet Mr. Basuki, an old friend of mine whom we used to go mountain climbing with.

In another example, a young lady is talking with her boy friend about her brother-in-law in Indonesian:

170. Itu kan dé? Gani itu, suka? ngganggu dia. "Bagèymana nóna itu, apa jadi apa ngga??"

My BROTHER-in-law GANI likes to tease us, you know. He said, referring to me, "How is the young lady, does she or doesn't she want to go?"

Koh, ngkoh, ci? or taci?. These TA OF Chinese origin are used by Peranakans to address and refer to relatives of immediate as well as non-immediate families. In the following example a Peranakan female student is talking with her friend about a cousin of hers:

171. A: Sapa itu?

Who's that (pointing at a picture)?

- B: Itu a? Engkohku.

That one? That's my BROTHER.

- A: Engkoh? Engkoh ketmeu gedhé apa?

Your BROTHER? You mean your boyfriend?

In another example an elderly Peranakan woman is talking with her nephew about her daughters whom she refers to as /ci?/ 'your sister' (technonymy):

172. Ci? Samé séng majang-majang tempat tidór, ci? Swané séng ngréwang-ngréwangi tante masa?

YOUR COUSIN Sam will be decorating the bridal bed and YOUR COUSIN Swan will be helping me cook.

Ca?. This TA is used to address male cousins, husbands by their wives, sometimes also elder brothers, of blue collar worker families and the like in Surabaya and its vicinity. This TA is particularly used in Javanese. In the following example, a woman is talking to her husband:

173. Ca? Markón, peno iku yo?opo sé ca? Markón? Olèhku nggolè?i peno iku rasané koyo? setengah mati.

Markon, MY DEAR, where have you been? I've been desperately looking for you all over the place.

Mbah, mbah kakóng, mbah putri, éyang. The TA /mbah/ 'grandparent' is used in Javanese and Indonesian as well. It is more commonly used than the Indonesian /nènè?/ 'grandparent'. The Javanese honorific term /kakóng/ 'male' or /putri/ 'female' is usually attached to /mbah/ when used by educated Javanese to address one's own grandparents. The KI term /éyang/ is mainly used by Javanese elites when speaking Javanese. It is also often followed by /kakóng/ or /puyti/. To address a relative whose kinship relation according to one's family tree is 'grandparent', uses the TA /mbah/ followed by the addressee's name and the honorific /kakóng/ or /putri/. In the following example, a ten-year-old boy of an educated Javanese family addresses his own grandfather as /mbah kakóng/ in a conversation in Indonesian:

174. Grandchild: Mbah kakóng ke sini ko? nda? sama mbah putri sé? *GRANDPA, why didn't GRANDMA come along with you?*

Grandfather: Lha mbah putri tunggu rumah gitu. Nanti sapa yang kasi? makan kuda, ayam apa itu. *Your GRANDMA has to stay since we cannot leave the house. Besides somebody must feed the horse, the chickens and take care of other things.*

Kang. This term of address is mainly used among uneducated Javanese, primarily those living in the rural areas. /kang/ is used to address an older brother or cousin (see also its female counterpart /yu/ above). Both /kang/ and /yu/ are commonly used in Javanese. In the following example, a blue collar worker's widow is talking with a relative who lives on the outskirts of the city about the price of a piece of merchandise they agree upon:

175. Nè? kanggéné kulo nè? sèket èwu nggéh mboten larang kang.
For me fifty thousand rupiahs for such a thing is not expensive, BROTHER.

Na?. In East Java this term is often used by a parent, particularly a mother, to address one's own small child as a term of endearment, otherwise parents and elders usually address their juniors without a title (/njangkar/). This term is also frequently used to address an adult nephew or niece as a sign of closeness as well as honour directed at the younger relatives particularly those who have not seen one another for years and all of a sudden the younger ones turn out to be successful persons in education or in a career. /na?/ is used to address the spouse of one's niece or nephew and sometimes also one's own daughter or son-in-law, particularly when the young in-laws have a relatively high social standing of their own. This is a device to avoid /njangkar/ since it is considered improper to address a person of high status without a title, even though the high status person is one's own son-in-law. Another device is by using technonymy such as /masé/ 'the brother (husband) of my daughter' and the like. In the following example, a retired businessman, a Madurese, is talking to his nephew's wife, a college teacher:

176. Uncle: Pléyn dari Surabaya ke Samarinda sudah bisa langsung to na?
Is there any direct flight from Surabaya to Samarinda, DEAR child?

Nephew's wife: Belóm, óm, maséh via Bali?papan.
No, UNCLE. They have to go via Balikpapan.

Óm and tante. These two terms are also commonly used among educated people regardless of ethnic group. /óm/ is used to address one's parent's brother or male cousin and /tante/ is used to address one's parent's sister or female cousin. Both are also used to address the spouses of these relatives. The following example is taken from a conversation between a Peranakan missionary and his relatives in which a girl is talking to her aunt about her mother and her grandfather:

177. Ma?é telpón, tante disuruh ndé? sini dulu, enti? ema? sama engkong mau ke sini diaja? léstóran.
Mother just called and said that YOU (aunt) should wait for her here. Later she and grandpa will come here to take us to the restaurant.

(See also an example of óm above).

In addition to the terms of address discussed above there are a number of TA of minor importance whose usage is limited to a certain group (ethnic or other) which consequently is not much known by the majority of the population of the studied areas. These terms include Madurese kinship terms, loan Chinese kinship terms and slang terms used by various groups of people.

4.2.3. CHOICE OF TA AND PR ACCORDING TO DEGREES OF INTIMACY

As has been seen in the discussions above, to a certain extent degrees of intimacy are reflected in the choice of TA and PR among interlocutors in various speech situations. Among intimates, for example, it is impossible for them to use the TA /pa?/, /bu/ or /sowdara/ very strictly even in an official meeting. There are always ways to release the tension caused by all the formalities in such a situation. A participant, particularly of high rank, often makes jokes, tells anecdotes to make the atmosphere more intimate so that the participants may feel more relaxed and are able to participate better. A participant of high rank or status may even recommend to the other participants that they make the meeting less formal. In the following example a district head who presides over an official meeting attended by local government officials and local businessmen makes some suggestion to that effect early in his speech:

178. Sódara-sódara, kami trós terang saja kami meskipón disediakan satu tèks tapi ingén mencóba unto? tida? terikat óléh tèks yang disediakan ini supaya masalahnya makén lebéh relèks begitu, tida? seperti rapat resmi, terlalu formél. . . .
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, to tell you the truth, we would like to make this meeting a little bit informal and more relaxed, unlike an ordinary official meeting, by not confining ourselves to the text provided. . . .

He is the highest ranking official at the meeting and so he can use the TA /sowdara/ to address the audience (see Choice 6 in Table 6 and Choice 8 in Table 7). From then on the meeting became an informal one marked by a number of little jokes and anecdotes made by the speaker as well as by the use of Javanese expressions (see 6.2.1.2). This relaxed atmosphere is maintained by the next speaker who is second highest in rank. He also uses Javanese expressions and employs /mas/ to refer to an intimate colleague in the audience with whom many of the participants are also intimate:

179. Hótel-hótel misalnya hótel Batu punya mas Jo? atow hótel
 Selèkta perlu juga? membuat suatu brosur. . . .
*It is necessary for the hotels such as the Hotel Batu which
 JO? owns and the Hotel Selecta to make some brochures. . . .*

The usage of the TA /mas/, /mba?/ and /dé?/ in many offices in East Java during office hours in informal situations (but not in formal meetings, conferences, etc.; see also 4.2.1.2) is mainly influenced by the intimate relationship of the employees outside of the office. Certain individuals sometimes even use /jeng/ to honour a young supervisor (Table 8, Choice9) in the office to replace /bu/ (Table 7, Choice 1). For example, an older white collar worker refers to a younger supervisor as /jeng/ when talking to a supervisor:

180. Permohonannya kenaikan tingkat sudah saya sampèykan pada jeng
 Mórwani pa?
I sent the application for your promotion to Miss Murwani, sir.

The speaker and the referee happen to have been good neighbours and friends for a long time. In a similar situation the same speaker, however, uses /bu/ when referring to a new supervisor in a different department who is about the same status and age as the other supervisor but with whom the speaker hardly ever has any dealings during or after office hours:

181. Barangkali bu Darti yang baru dipindahkan dari Madión itu tau
 banya? só?al ini, pa?
*Probably MISS Darti who was just transferred from Madiun
 knows a great deal about this, sir.*

One may employ different TA for relatives who are related to one in the same way but each with a different degree of intimacy. For example, one may address a nephew without a title because they have known one another since childhood and address another nephew as /na?/ particularly because the latter became acquainted with the speaker only recently (i.e., they might have known how they are related but never had a personal contact until recently). Such different choices of TA to relatives who have approximately the same kinship relationship with the speaker (and the different degrees of intimacy being the only defining factor for different choices) are very common phenomena at a family gathering, wedding parties, Lebaran day (biggest Moslem holiday) and the like where relatives and good friends meet.

The pronominal use of TA instead of ordinary pronouns in many cases also show the existence of a greater degree of intimacy in the role relationship. For example, Javanese parents frequently use their children's name pronominally instead of the pronoun /kamu/ 'you' (I)

or /kowé/ 'you' (J). Many Javanese extend this usage to other people's children or to a much younger inferior such as illustrated in quotation 134 above where the teacher says: /éndang pernah mató/ (etc.) to mean 'Did YOU (Endang) ever tell (etc.)'. This usage implies that the speaker regards the addressees as his own children, i.e., he regards them with a great deal of intimacy instead of just like when he treats ordinary non-intimate addressees. Another example is the use of /mas/ as against /yu/ 'you' which is commonly used by college students. To look at them more closely, /mas/ or /mba?/ followed by a given name is frequently used pronominally to show a great deal of intimacy whereas

is not necessarily so. As a comparison, a Javanese graduate student who is chatting with a new acquaintance, another graduate student, uses a number of /yu/ and /mas/ as well. When he is chatting with a good friend, however, the same Javanese student only uses /mas/ followed by a name pronominally.

These are only examples which indicate that degrees of intimacy also play an important part in the choice of TA and PR (see also discussions on pronouns in 4.5 ff.).

4.2.4. SOCIAL STATUS AS A DEFINING FACTOR IN CHOICE OF TA AND PR

In many cases the interlocutors in a speech situation must know approximately their mutual statuses before they can decide to use a TA to one another. High status symbolised by /pa?/ and /bu/ often overrides some other social factors (see Choice 1 in Tables 7,8 and 9). To be on the safe side, many people in East Java prefer to use /pa?/ or /bu/ to address a non-acquaintance whom they suspect to be either of the same status or a little higher than the speaker. Later they can switch into /mas/, /mba?/, /mba?yu/ or /jeng/ to indicate closeness and approximate age. This kind of switch can also be made if the speaker has made an overestimation of the addressee without any embarrassment, particularly from the part of the speaker, because the addressee would think that the switch is an invitation to close relationship. On the other hand, the wrong choice in the first place may embarrass both parties which might endanger the role relationship they are establishing.

A person of high status has the advantage of using more choices of TA than a person of lower status in a speech situation. For example, the district head whose speech is quoted in 178 above (see 4.2.3), also used /bapa?/ and /ibu/ to address the audience, such as in:

182. Para ibu dan bapa?-bapa? skalian dan sówdara-sówdara
yang terhómat. . . .
LADIES and GENTLEMEN. . . .

In that same meeting the master of ceremony, a white collar worker, uses /bapa?/, /ibu/ and /hadirén/ 'audience' but never /sowdara/, such as in:

183. Bapa? pimpinan Dépé?èr, hadirén dan ibu-ibu yang kami mólyakan. . . .

Mr. Chairman of the House of Representatives, ladies and honourable audience. . . .

Choice of TA which has been established primarily on the basis of status distinction is usually difficult to change, particularly from the part of the person with a lower status. A person whose status has moved upwards is normally recognised by his colleagues, friends and acquaintances as well as their former superiors by using a new TA which shows more honour or respect. The promoted person, however, normally keeps using the former TA, particularly the ones he uses to address his superiors and persons of higher status. For example, a former student who becomes a faculty member soon after he graduates is normally addressed by his former teachers as /pa?/ in official situations instead of /sowdara/ as before, and as /dé?/ or /mas/ in various unofficial situations instead of using no title (/njangkar/). The new faculty member, however, keeps using /pa?/ and /bu/ to address his former teachers (who are now colleagues) even though according to his attainment he is allowed to address them as /mas/ and /mba?/ in unofficial situations. This is quite a common phenomenon in East Java and is so in our English Department at IKIP Malang. Recognition of rise in status is also given by a former teacher by using the TA /jeng/ to a former student who used to be addressed with no title and who is now married to a colleague of the former teacher (see 5.4, example 283). The former student, on the other hand, continues using /pa?/ to address the former teacher.

Rise in status can sometimes complicate certain established role relationships which may confuse the logical choice of TA. However, members of East Javanese society are aware of such problems and always able to find a certain solution. For example, a young man who has a student-teacher role relationship with a female college teacher for a couple of years and addresses her /bu/ to receive /dé?/ in unofficial situations, continues using /bu/ after he marries the teacher's friend whom she addresses as /mba?/. Logically the teacher should address him /mas/ since now he is married to a person whom she addresses /mba?/. However, this does not happen and the three keep using the old TA. The married couple uses ordinary addresses, i.e., /mas/ for the man and /dé?/ for the wife. The following examples are taken from a conversation among them. When talking with the teacher about his honeymoon he says:

184. Yang saya pikérkan itu juga? biaya perjalanan itu, bu.
What I'm concerned about is the travel expenses, MA'AM.

Later the teacher says to him:

185. Dé? Gani di sana pergaulannya kan luas.
YOU know a great number of people there, don't you?

Referring to the wife the teacher says:

186. Saya sama mba? Win juga? segitu ko?.
That's how much WIN and I used to pay.

4.2.5. AGE AS A DEFINING FACTOR IN CHOICE OF TA AND PR

As has been shown in examples above, treating elders with deference is overtly reflected in the choice of TA and PR directed at them. The fact that the TA for elders /pa?/ and /bu/ are the same as for high status persons indicates that members of East Javanese society do accord elders with respect. In some cases the factor of age overrides that of status (see Choice 4 in Table 6 and Choice 5 in Table 7). One will as readily address an old male beggar /pa?/ as one will readily address one's male superior /pa?/. Like persons of higher status, older interlocutors have more choices of TA than the younger ones in a speech situation (see Choice 10, Table 8). The saleswoman who addresses a young customer /na?/ (quoted in example 146 uses /mas/ to address the young man when they first met such as in:

187. Young man: Ini apa bu??
What kind of flower is this, MA'AM?
- Woman: Itu aster mas. Buganya sperti mawar gitu lho.
That's aster. Its flower heads are like roses.

The young man cannot use a better TA than /bu/ since it already shows age and intimacy (as addressed to his own mother) and deference as well. People also frequently address older children differently from younger children. The respectful title /jeng/, for example, is commonly used to address a teenage daughter of an educated family. For instance, a government official's wife addresses a teenage daughter of her husband's colleague as /jeng/ as in:

188. Bapa? ibu kapan pulang dari Jakarta jeng?
When will your father and mother be back from Jakarta, JENG (big girl)?

The same woman addresses the addressee's little sister and little brother without a title. In the street people often ask non-acquainted children for some directions by addressing older children /dé?/ and

younger children /rè?/ to indicate a little sungkan to the older children.

4.2.6. CHOICE OF TA AND PR ACCORDING TO SEX DISTINCTIONS AND MARITAL STATUS

In East Java women are usually more careful and more formal in using TA and people are usually also more careful in using TA for women. People are apt to use /mas/ to non-acquaintances of about their equals since /mas/ may mean 'comrade', 'elder brother' and 'younger brother' as well. Among women of the same status /mba?/ is usually addressed to an older interlocutor and /dé?/ to a younger one. Women tend to address their male colleagues /dé?/ to receive /mba?/ and use /mas/ only to a much older colleague or to a colleague who is a little older than the speaker but with whom she has a very close relationship. Young women, particularly unmarried ones, usually tend to avoid the TA /mas/ addressed to young men as much as young men usually tend to avoid /dé?/ to young women because these two terms of address are also used by a man and his wife, lovers, and the like. They may use no title or /dé?/ to the men and /mba?/ to the women. For example, a college student is talking to a group of new students who are approximately one or two years younger than he is. However, he addresses a female student in the group /mba?/ while she does not use a TA at all. He and the new male students use /mas/ to one another:

189. Older student: Mba? dari mana ya? Dari Banjar juga?
Where do you come from, SIS? Do you come from Banjar, too?
- Female student: Dari mana ya? Bukan dari Banjar, tapi mau ke Banjar.
Where do I come from? Uhm, I'm not from Banjar, but I'm going to Banjar.
- Older student: Dari mana mas? Yu dari Banjarmasin atow dari. . . .
Where did YOU say YOU came from? From Bankarmasin or . . .
- Male student: Dari sini, apa, ini sebelóm Amuntèy ini mas.
I'm from, well, somewhere near Amuntai, BROTHER.

Sometimes people need only one TA to address and refer to a number of different male interlocutors but they need different terms for female ones according to marital status, intimacy and ethnicity (see Choice 6, Table 8). The TA /jeng/ which is used to honour a young person of higher

status than the speaker (Choice 9, Table 8), to honour an older daughter of an educated family (Choice 10) does not have an exact equivalent for a male addressee. On the other hand, the TA /gós/ used to address a city boy does not have an exact equivalent for a female addressee. In general, however, people are more careful when addressing a female interlocutor or an interlocutor of the opposite sex. Among male friends it is also common to address one another without a title (/njangkar/) or to use a special TA to show intimacy. For example, two colleagues and good friends who go to the movies and play tennis together a great deal use the TA /kang/ to one another to indicate intimacy and use N Javanese, while their wives use K with honorific terms and address /bu/ to one another and /pa?/ to their male friends:

190. Friend A: Nonton silat yó?, kang.
Let's go to the movie about silat (self defence),
BROTHER.

Friend B: Ayó?
Let's.

Wife of B: Badhé mérsani dhateng pundi to pa??
Where are you going to see that movie, SIR?

As stated in the discussions above (see also Tables 6 to 9), a man and his wife are normally given equivalent titles, i.e., /pa?/ is paired with /bu/ (or /mbo?/), /óm/ with /tante/, /bah/ with /nyah/, etc. In some situations, particularly when dealing with strangers, people may not be aware of the marital relationship, since it is often the case that a man's status is not as clearly ascertainable at a quick glance as a woman (for men may appear in public in dirty or torn clothing and behave casually whereas women may not). Consequently, mistakes are occasionally made. For example, an old mason who has been just hired by an educated man of about forty addresses the employer /dhé?/ and communicates in K Javanese):

191. Boto kaiéh pasiré taséh kirang niki dhé?
We still need bricks and sand, LITTLE BROTHER.

When the mason is introduced to the employer's wife who happens to be a schoolteacher, he does not directly address her /dhé?/ or /jeng/ but omits the TA and PR for some time before finally deciding to use /bu/, as in:

192. Tanemané dipindhah pundi niki, bu?
Where should these plants be moved, MA'AM?

In another example, an educated Javanese is addressed as /mas/ by a Peranakan Chinese store owner (see quotation 158 in 4.2.2.1.2). The Peranakan, however, addresses the customer's wife /ibu/, as in:

193. Customer's Wife: Ini bahan putihnya minta? korténg. Masa?
 beli banya? skali ko? ngga? dikorténg.
*I'd like to get some discount for this white
 fabric. I'll buy a whole lot, remember?
 So you'd better give me a generous discount.*

Peranakan: Rèken duabelas setengah lah bu. Ngalah
 dah sama ibu.
*I'll make it twelve thousand five hundred
 rupiahs in all, MA'AM. I always give in
 to you, MA'AM.*

4.3. TITLES USED AS TA AND PR

East Javanese society regards academic titles (like SE or Sarjana Ékonomi 'Master in Economics', ranks (like létnan 'lieutenant', juru tulés 'clerk'), and names of professions or occupations as significant social status symbols and therefore incorporates them into the system of TA and PR. In the following sections the usage of these titles (except titles of nobility which do not have as much social significance as the other titles do) in society within the framework of urép mapan will be discussed with illustrations.

4.3.1. ACADEMIC TITLES

Academic titles have been associated with high status for a long time, although nowadays many degree holders do not have jobs which are commensurate with the degrees which they hold. For example, a white collar worker who is talking with his friend refers to another friend and implies that this friend is of high status by referring to the degree which she holds:

193. Kancaku kaé séng kawén karó sopo, Hartati, dokteranda opo. . . .
*My friend who is married to, what's her name, Hartati, a
 Master degree holder in, I don't know what. . . .*

In another instance, an academic title is used as the name of a profession and later as a TA:

195. A: Makannya jadi satu dengan dokter itu?
Do you have meals together with that DOCTOR?
 B: Nda?, poko?é dhuwité dititipké Dokter Salèh. Dokter
Salèh yang masa?, saya tinggal ngambél.
*No, in principle DOCTOR SALEH is in charge of the money,
 HE is the one who cooks and I just have to take it.*

An example of an academic title used as a direct address is found in the speech of a patient who is leaving the hospital and expresses her gratitude to the doctor who has treated her:

196. Dokter saya mengucapkan terima kasih sebanya?-banya?nya atas perawatan dokter terhadap diri saya.

DOCTOR, thank you very much for all the care and treatment YOU have given me.

In official situations a complete set of titles including academic are often mentioned when the speaker refers to a person with such titles for the first time in his speech. In the following example, in a meeting attended by government officials and local business,em, an official reads a decree appointing a group of people to be executive members of a certain body. The name of each member is read, complete with the title and his assignment:

197. Sekretarés, Budiman Sarjana hukóm; bendahara satu, Sutarno bé?èsse; bendahara dua, Kóstiono bé?a. . . .
Budiman Master of Law, Secretary; Sutarto BSc., Treasurer; Kustiono BA, Assistant Treasurer. . . .

In another instance, in a reception to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Indonesian Journalists' Association, the chairman of the local association, when referring to a particular person in his speech, mentions such titles also:

198. Perkenalkanlah kami menghubóngkan téma hari ulang taón Persatuan Wartawan ndonesia ini dengan pendapat bapa? Sumanang Sarjana Hukóm, salah sórang tokoh sénior pèrs yang menjabat ketua umóm PWI yang pertama.
Allow us to relate the theme of the Indonesian Journalists' Association's anniversary at present to MR. SUMANANG MASTER OF LAW, one of the senior press figures who became the first Chairman of the association.

In referring to the same person the second time, the speaker uses the PR bapa? Sumanang 'he' to show respect as well as intimacy since the person has been regarded as the father of the national association.

Some other commonly used academic titles are Dokter gigi (Dg) 'dentist', Insinyór (Ir) 'engineer', MA, MPA, MSc, PhD (given by foreign universities, particularly in the USA), Sarjana Ekónómi (SE) 'Master of Economics', etc.

4.3.2. RANKS, POSITIONS, NAMES OF PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS USED AS TA AND PR

By the same token as the titles of academic position, in official situations, the titles of ranks, positions, names of professions and the like are to be attached to the names of the holders together with other titles when they are mentioned for the first time. Later the long TA can be reduced /pa?/ or /bu/ plus the title of rank, position or profession. In the following example, an official reads a decree appointing officials to be executive members of a tourism board:

199. Ketua Umóm, Bupati Kepala Daérah Tingkat Dua Malang, Ér, Suwégnyo; Ketua Harian, Sékretarés Wilayah dan Daérah, Dokterandes Marsudi; Wakél Ketua Harian Ui Cu Hó Sarjana Hukóm. . . .

R. Suwignyo, Regent, Head of Malang District, Director; Marsudi MA, Secretary of Regent, Executive Director; Oei Toe Hoo Master of Law, Assistant Executive Director. . . .

(/bupati/ 'regent' is Mr. R. Suwignyo's rank as /kepala daérah tingkat dua malang/ 'head of Malang district'. On the board he is appointed Director.)

In another example a speaker in a reception to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Indonesian Reporter Association begins his speech with:

200. Yang terhórmát bapa? Résidèn Pembantu Gubernór, yang terhormat bapa? Kómandan Korèm, yang terhórmát bapa? Kómandan Antar Resort Kepolisian, dan para bapa?-bapa?, yang terhórmát bapa? Walikota Kepala Daérah Kota Madya Malang, serta anggóta Muspida Kódyá Malang, yang terhórmát bapa? Bupati Kepala Daérah Tingkat Dua Malang, serta anggóta Muspida, bapa?-bapa? dan ibu Ketua Dépéér, serta para undangan yang tida? kami ucapkan satu persatu, kami ucapkan terima kasih atas kehadiran bapa?-bapa? sekalian dalam resèpsi ini, hari ulang taón Persatuan Wartawan Indonésia yang ke tigapuluh.

The most honourable Resident, Assistant Governor, the most honourable Chief of Military Region, the most honourable Chief of Police Region and staff, the most honourable Mayor, Head of Malang Municipality, and the local administrators, the most honourable Regent, Head of Malang District, the most honourable Head of Parliament and members of Parliament and all who are not mentioned individually, we thank you for your presence at this reception commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Indonesian Reporter Association.

To say '*ladies and gentlemen*' in accordance with the *toto kromo* in an official speech the speaker has to mention all the local dignitaries in their order of rank. The speaker shortens the list by skipping the academic titles and the given names. His *sungkan* feeling towards all the high ranking officials is reflected in the use of *bapa?* and *ibu* which contrasts with that of example 199 which omits these terms since the speaker is only reading a decree and not involving himself in any kind of relationship with the appointed persons. However, when he finishes reading the decree, he once again establishes a certain relation with the audience as reflected in:

201. Demikian hadirén, pembaca?an surat keputusan dan selanjótnya peresmian berdirinya Bapparda Kabupatèn Malang, dan pelantikan pengurósnya oléh bapa? Bupati Kepala Daerah Kabupatèn Malang.

Ladies and gentlemen, the reading of the decree is over and now MR. Regent, Head of Malang District will officially declare the establishment of the Bapparda (Regional Tourism Development Board) for Malang District and inaugurate as well the members of the executive board.

In the comments which follow the speaker refers to the Regent as /*bapa? bupati*/, omitting the given name.

In unofficial situations much simpler TA and PR are employed, as shown in the conversation of three young men who are talking about the daughter of a supervisor in a coffee plantation:

202. A: Sama ini cakep mana ana?nya pa? Sinder itu?
Which one is prettier, this one or MR. SUPERVISOR's daughter?

B: Sukar dibédakan, mas. Bagus-bagus mas.
It's hard to distinguish. They are all pretty.

The wife of an official is also commonly addressed in terms of her husband's rank or position. One of the three young men above refers to the head's wife as /*bu petinggi*/:

203. A: Ini ana?nya pa? siapa?
Whose daughter is this?

C: Ana?nya bu petinggi.
That one is MRS. VILLAGE HEAD's sister.

The choice of names usually indicates more familiarity and a more intimate relationship, whereas the choice of rank and the like indicates formality as well as more feeling of *sungkan*. For example, an official at a formal meeting uses rank in his introductory remark:

204. Bapa? pimpinan Dépéér dan terutama bapa? overste Sutéjo dari Bapparda Jawa Timór, hadirén dan ibu yang kami mólyakan. . . .

THE HONOURABLE HEAD OF THE PARLIAMENT, and MR. LIEUTENANT COLONEL SUTEJO of Bapparda, East Java, honourable ladies and gentlemen. . . .

Later, at the same meeting, in a more relaxed atmosphere another official refers to the same military man as /pa? téjo/, a more intimate TA than even /bapa? sutéjo/:

205. Nanti saya sangat bergembira pa? Téjo berada diantara kita. . . .
I'm very happy that MR. TEJO is among us. . . .

Titles for occupations which are commonly associated with low social status in society are ordinarily avoided in East Java, even in a place of business. In such a case the person's name has precedence over the low rank. This is in accordance with the andhap asor and tepo sliro principles by which one does not emphasise someone else's TA which is lower than oneself. For example, an employee who is talking about family planning refers to the low ranking employees in general as /pesuruh/ 'messenger' but uses a given name when referring to a particular /pesuruh/ instead of using /pa? pesuruh/:

206. A: Nanti kaló? sudah sampèy pesuruh justru ana?nya, wah. . . .
Later when it comes to THE LOW RANKING EMPLOYEES, their children happen to be. . . .

B: Mestinya paléng membutóhkan keluarga berencana
Actually they are the ones who need family planning the most.

- A: Pa? Kadiran ki ana?é nem lhó. Nganti mèyè?-mèyè? lé nyambót gaé.
MR. KADIRAN (the messenger) has six children, you know. Because of that he has to work awfully hard.

In referring to other persons (A) uses ranks, such as /bu bupati/ 'Mrs. Regent', /pa? rèktor/ 'Mr. Rector' and many more.

4.4. CHOICE OF NAMES TO REFLECT PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Many Javanese have only one name (i.e., no first, middle or last names) although there are exceptions. Family names are not commonly employed except for official purposes. Many Javanese, especially in small towns or rural areas, still adopt new names which mark their marital status upon marrying, but many others, especially educated ones, retain the use of their childhood names after their marriage. For offi-

cial purposes people commonly use their father's name to function as a family or last name. However, in daily communication their given names almost always have precedence over their last names.

To show respect and *sungkan* feeling one should mention the whole name (one or more given names and the last name, if any) preceded by a kin term which is appropriate for the occasion (e.g., /pa?/ in an official situation and /mas/ at an informal encounter) followed by a title.

To show familiarity one can use a short name of the addressee or person referred to. In Javanese a short name may consist of one or two syllables taken from the full given name. For example, Sugiharto may be shortened into Sugi, Har, Harto or To and a girl named Porwanéngrom may be called Por, Neng, Rum or Néngrum. Their close friends in addressing them usually follow the members of the family which may be using diminutives. The boy named Sugiharto above may be called by his siblings and parents Ugi, Toto? or other shortenings while the girl above may have Pong, Ninéng, Rurum. For example, at a meeting an official uses /mas/ followed by a diminutive /jo?/ to refer to an intimate colleague who is participating at the meeting to imply that he also wants to be intimate with the audience in general since there are many friends and colleagues of the referee who are attending the meeting (see quotation 179, in 4.2.3). Earlier in the meeting the referee was referred to by his title and full name (see quotation 199: *Wakél Ketua Harian*).

Colleagues and good friends very often use the name only to address one another to show intimacy. They also use names to substitute for ordinary pronouns. In the following example, Adi and Budi are good friends and classmates. They are both graduate students and high school teachers as well. They address one another by name. To a third party a graduate student from a different department with whom they have been acquainted for only three months, the two friends use /mas/ and receive /mas/ also:

207. Adi: Mas Cahya dapat brapa?
How many did YOU get, CAHYA?

Cahya: Tiga. Saya berdua sama mas Budi. Ini gadésku, mas.
We, BUDI and I, got three. By the way, this is my girl friend, BROTHER.

To each other the two friends use the name:

208. Budi: Iya, jinjét lagi Adi, ngga? Iso tumapiek. Nggandó! gini Di.
Yeah, stand on your tiptoes, ADI. You cannot place your feet firm. You have to hang like this, DI.

Adi: Kaló? terlepas gimana, Bud?

How about if you slip, BUD?

Budi: Kaló? terlepas jatóh Di.

If you slip off, you fall, DI.

A wife is normally addressed and referred to by a title (e.g., /bu/, /jeng/, etc.) plus her husband's name. It is the case that often even the children and some close friends may not know the wife's name. In the following example, the speakers happen to know the names of the ladies referred to, but they nevertheless use the husbands' names as a sign of deference:

209. A: Tua seperti bu Kartono bóléh?

Will a person as old as MRS. KARTONO do?

B: Ibunya bu Kartono mungkén. Harós diatasnya bu Kartono.

MRS. KARTONO's mother will be all right. It has to be somebody older than MRS. KARTONO.

A: Pa? Hadi mungkén? Bu Woworuntu?

How about Mr. Hadi or MRS. WOWORUNTU?

Only unmarried women are addressed by their maiden names preceded by the appropriate title for the occasion. In the following example two Peranakan students are writing invitation cards where they must know exactly how to use /bapa? dan ibu/ in order to address a married couple, /bapa?/ to an unmarried male addressee and /ibu/ to address an unmarried female addressee:

210. A: Trós ini dokteranda yang sito?é ini sapa? Dokteranda

ini Sri Astuti? ini, nda? menikah?

How about this lady DRA. SRI ASTUTI? Who is she? Is she married?

B: Yang Dokteranda sapa, langsóng ibu? tho? aé.

You mean Dra., what's her name, - just put MISS.

However, people who are older or have known a married woman since before she was married may use the maiden name in addressing her. Usually in this case they are intimate enough that they do not also use a title. In the following example, A, B and C are teachers. C is married to someone named Wayan. D used to be C's classmate and is now a white collar worker at the same university where the three teachers are teaching. C is the youngest among the three teachers and is usually addressed by her maiden name to indicate intimacy and long-standing friendship:

211. A: Jaré até nang Michigan, kapan?
I heard you are leaving for Michigan, when?
- B: O Michigan, maséh lama.
Oh, for Michigan? It won't be for quite some time.
- A: Lunga dhèwè?an manèh?
You are going alone again?
- B: Sa?kampóng lé budhal yo Sri yo? (Turning to C.)
You are going with the whole family, aren't you, SRI?
- C: Wah iyo sa?kampóng.
Sure, I'm going with the whole family.

D now feels sungkan when he addresses C by her maiden name and the TA /bu/ is too formal and so D uses /mba?/ instead and, to honour her as a married friend of a higher status than himself, D addresses C as /mba? wayan/. In the following he is talking with A and refers to C:

212. D: Dhè?é murité mba? Wayan biyèn.
She used to be MRS. WAYAN's student.
- A: Iyo to Sri (turning to C.)?
Is that right, SRI?

4.4.1. EPITHETS AND NICK-NAMES

For children epithets are frequent, e.g., /bambang bagós/ / 'Bambang the handsome one', /joko bélé? / 'Joko the runny nose', /tanyo precél / 'Tanyo the tiny frog' and many others. Among adults epithets are also quite common. In the following example a young man is talking with his acquaintance about his motorcycle when suddenly another acquaintance interrupts them:

213. A: Mesénnya tadi saya uthé?-uthé?, hampér saja saya bawa ke pa? Yusóp.
Just now I tried to see what was wrong with the engine and I almost took it to Mr. Joseph's.
- B: Yusóp sopo?
Joseph who?
- A: Yusóp bingkél.
JOSEPH THE MECHANIC.

The interlocutors happen to know some other Yusóp, each with his own trade. In another case, a group of college students are chatting and refer to a particular colleague of theirs by using a nick-name:

214. A: Trós di Ékónómi itu ada lagi yang kecil orangnya.
Further, there is a small guy at the Department of Economics.
- B: Ada, Salèh, Salèh.
It's Saleh, you know.
- C: O, Salèh ransel iku. Nang ndi endi nggowo ransel
Oh, SALEH THE RUCKSACK. He's always carrying a rucksack anywhere he goes.

Epithets are ordinarily employed only in unofficial situations directed particularly at equals and others who are intimate with the interlocutors. In East Java there is also a kind of nick-name called /wadanan/ (J) 'teasing' whose function ranges from being used as a term for teasing, showing little anger, to showing contempt and the like. Censures are often given to children by the parents who catch their children using such nick-names, as in:

215. Ojo? poyo?-poyo?an, ngkó nangés.
Stop TEASING EACH OTHER or else you may cry.

/poyo?an/ or /wadanan/ which can be attached to a given name or stand by itself is ordinarily created on the basis of physical appearance like /gendut/ 'Fatso', /krèmpèng/ 'Skinny', or of character like /craki/ 'Selfish', or characteristics like /crawa?/ 'Loud mouthed' and many others.

Such nick-names can also be created on the basis of similarities between one's job, undertaking or responsibility with that of others. For example, the chairman of a tennis club whose job it is to collect contributions from the club members every month, organise friendly games with other clubs and the like is nick-named /lurahé/ 'The Village Head' by the members, and a senior colleague who always keeps himself busy by telling younger colleagues to do things in a workshop is nick-named /mandhoré/ 'The Foreman' by the younger colleagues.

4.5. CHOICE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Along with the pronominalised terms of address there are a number of personal pronouns (PP) used in daily communication and interaction among members of East Javanese society. These PP are of Indonesian origin such as /saya/ 'I', /kamu/ 'you', and /dia/ 'he' or 'she', etc., of Javanese origin such as /sampeyan/ 'you' etc., of Chinese origin such as /owé/ 'I', /lu/ 'you', etc., of Dutch origin such as /éke/ 'I', /yéy/ 'you', etc., and of English origin such as /yu/ 'you'. Like the choice of TA and PR, the choice of PP also reflects the identity and

relationship of the interlocutors. As has been seen in the examples above, people in East Java use first PP a great deal, third PP less and rarely use second PP, since PP cannot show the identity and the relationship of the interlocutors in a given speech situation as accurately as TA and PR can. In the following sections we shall see how these personal pronouns operate sociolinguistically and what devices are generally used to substitute for a certain PP which cannot be employed in a specific speech situation.

4.5.1. CHOICE OF FIRST PP

The most widely used first PP in East Java is the Indonesian /saya/ 'I'. It is used in SIEJ, EJI, NEJI as well as in PCI in both official and unofficial situations. In an official meeting, however, /saya/ is more frequently used by a participant of high status whereas /kami/ is very commonly used by participants who have to show feelings of *sungkan* towards other participants. In such a meeting a participant of high status may also use /kami/ (lit. 'we') in his introductory statements, to indicate sincerity or seriousness of the problems he brings up, to show deference towards a certain person and the like, and uses /saya/ in a more relaxed atmosphere, in an anecdote, to show intimacy towards the audience. For example, the district head who is presiding over an official meeting and whose statements have been quoted several times above shows these usages in his speech. He uses /kami/ early in his speech and when he installs the members of the executive board of tourism as stated in:

216. Dengan ini kami nyatakan berdirinya Bapparda Kabupatén Malang dan skaligós melanték sowdara-sowdara pengurós. . . .
I hereby declared the establishment of the Bapparda of Malang District and install the members of the executive board. . . .

Later after he has invited the audience to make the meeting more informal and relaxed, he uses more /saya/ than /kami/. In the following example he uses /saya/ when he starts to tell an anecdote:

217. Ibu-ibu mungkén bisa terkejót karna tida? saya beritahu. . . .
The ladies may find it surprising because I did not tell them. . . .

The second speaker at the same meeting who is only a little lower in rank than the first (and thus belongs to the persons with high rank) also employs /kami/ and /saya/ in much a similar way. The master of ceremony, however, an official of much lower rank than the speakers and many of the participants, uses /kami/ only. For example, when he invites the audience to stand up for the installation he says:

218. Untó? itu kami mohon keikhlasan bapa?-bapa? skalian berdiri sejena?.

I hereby would like to request the audience to stand up.

The other Indonesian first PP, /aku/, which has the same form in N Javanese is primarily used by children or when talking to children and by outer islanders particularly when talking with their peers and friends. Adult Javanese normally avoid this PP when speaking Indonesian. In the following example a college student from Kupang, Timor uses /aku/ and also /ku-/ and /-ku/ (affixes derived from /aku/) when speaking with his Javanese friends:

219. Kaiow kita itu seandèynya tida? memilih apa itu pendidikannya, terlalu rendah, waduh. Kukira dia mengangkat kita dari segi kecantikannya.

If we take a wife without considering her little education, I THINK this girl, with her beauty can promote our prestige in society.

Many educated Peranakan Chinese and the educated people of the older generation and their offspring frequently use /ék/ or /éke/ 'I' (borrowed from Dutch) when speaking with members of their in-group. In the following example a Peranakan college student is talking to his colleague, another Peranakan:

220. Ó éna?é. Tugasé mahaséswa baru é, éke mahaséswa lama é.
You cannot get yourself free from this job since this is the new students' responsibility, not mine. I'm an old student, remember?

In Javanese there are three first PP used in East Java, i.e., the N /aku/, the K /kulo/ and the KA /dalem/.

Among Peranakans the PP /owé/ or /wé/ 'I' (borrowed from Chinese) is frequently used. The following example is taken from a conversation between a young male Peranakan and an elderly Peranakan woman:

221. Owé mau afdrek tante. Ko? Mingé ada?
I would like to have some prints made, Auntie. Is Kok Ming around?

People in East Java often substitute the first PP with /kéné/ 'here' in N Javanese or /sini/ 'here' in Indonesian when talking casually with friends, colleagues or acquaintances of about the same status. Depending on the context, this substitute may mean 'we' or 'I'. The following example is taken from a conversation among students who share the same apartment:

222. A: Lhó, ko? maséh banya? makanan, blóm makan to?
Why is there still plenty of food? Haven't you eaten yet?
- B: Lha nunggu situ gitu.
We are waiting for YOU, don't you know that?
- A: Wah, ma?ap ya. Tadi kehujaan, trós mampér di rumah
 Tati, diaja? makan sama tantenya. Ya mau sé.
*I'm sorry. It was raining just now, so I dropped by at
 Tati's where her aunt invited me to dinner which I could
 not refuse.*
- C: Wah éna?é. Tau gitu sini tadi nda? usah sópan-sópanan
 nunggu ya?
*That's good for you, but had WE known that, we wouldn't
 have been waiting for you politely, you know.*

(See also the use of *situ* in 4.5.2)

Standard Indonesian distinguishes the use of /kami/ for 'exclusive we' and /kita/ for 'inclusive we'. In daily communication, however, people frequently use /kita/ in place of /kami/ in unofficial situations. For many Javanese this may be an influence from Javanese which has only /kito/ 'we' for both Indonesian usages. For example, two educated young Javanese women, who are talking with an educated non-Javanese woman use /kita/ eight times and /kami/ once only, both to refer to 'exclusive we':

223. Non-Jav.: Kalo? sini ke pecinan brapa? Mba? Néng tadi sratos.
*How much does it usually cost from here to down
 town by pedicab? Just now it cost me one hundred
 rupiahs.*
- Jav.: O iya? Kita biasanya limapuluh ya (turning to
 the other Jav.)?
*Oh, really? MY FRIEND AND I usually pay fifty
 rupiahs.*

Later the non-Javanese also uses /kita/ to replace /kami/:

- Non-Jav.: O éna? ya? Kalo? kita dulu ada batas waktunya.
*Oh, that's nice! My CLASSMATES AND I used to
 have a time limit.*

4.5.2. CHOICE OF SECOND PP

In official situations the people in East Java practically never use a second person pronoun. Instead they normally use pro-nominalised TA (PR), particularly /bapa?/ and /ibu/ to show deference and /sowdara/

when talking with inferiors, In less formal situations /pa?/ or /bu/, each followed by a given name is normally used to show deference and /mas/, /dé?/ or /jeng/ each followed by a given name, is used among colleagues in a place of business (see Table 7 and the discussions which follow). In unofficial situations people in East Java use a greater number of pro-nominalised TA (PR) than the PR above (see Table 7 and the discussions which follow). In short, members of East Javanese society use PR in both official and unofficial situations to show the relationships as well as the identities of the interlocutors. In certain situations, however, members of East Javanese society may also use a number of second PP. The Indonesian /engkow/ or /kow/ 'you' is often used among children or when people are talking to them. The Indonesian /kamu/ 'you' and /-mu/ (the suffix derived from /kamu/) are more frequently used than /kow/ or /engkow/. /kamu/ and /-mu/ are used among children, when people are talking to them, among students and friends of long-standing friendship. In the following example an educated young man is talking to an unfamiliar ten-year-old boy:

224. Kamu bisa menulés engga?? Itu siapa itu temanmu itu?
Can YOU write or not? What's YOUR friend's name, over there?

In another example two acquaintances, both college students, use the PR /mas/ to one another, but they also use /-mu/ in their conversation:

225. Ó iya, kaka?mu itu méjer dibidang apa itu?
By the way, what is YOUR brother majoring in?

The K Javanese /sampéyan/ 'you' is frequently used in colloquial Indonesian regardless of social backgrounds particularly when talking with friends, colleagues, and persons with whom one is well acquainted. /sampéyan/ is also very frequently used in NEJI and in PCI when the speaker is talking with a non-Peranakan. In the following example, /sampéyan/ is used by an educated young man in addressing a night watchman:

226. Sampéyan jaga jam enam sampéy jam nam pagi?
Are YOU on duty from six p.m. to six a.m.?

In another example, a vendor uses it when talking with an educated customer:

227. Kalo? sampéyan nyari? biasa nda? isa item. . . .
If YOU are looking for one of ordinary quality, you won't get one which is black. . . .

In the following example a Peranakan salesman is talking to a Javanese customer:

228. Ini nè? sampéyan dadiné lebéh dari tigapuluh enam berarti hargané tida? sampè? sembilanpuluh.

If you can make more than thirty-six pictures out of this roll of film, it means that each costs less than ninety rupiahs.

The PP /anda/ 'you' is frequently used by TV and radio announcers, masters of ceremonies in various shows and young people, particularly college students when talking to a person with whom a permanent relationship has not been established or when they are being jovial with one another. In the following example, a college student is talking to a new acquaintance. He uses /anda/ as the first choice of the second PP in the conversation after he uses /dé?/ 'younger brother' to address the new acquaintance:

229. Ya itu, di Bali kan, anda mungkén pernah membaca bahwa Bali itu maséh, maséh memegang adat.
That's right, YOU might have read somewhere that the Balinese still follow their old customs and traditions.

Educated Peranakan Chinese and the educated people of the older generation and their offspring frequently use /yè/ or /yèy/ 'you' (borrowed from Dutch) when they speak with members of their in-group. In the following example, a Peranakan college student is talking to his colleague, another Peranakan:

230. Trós yang ini kira-kira bésó? siang yè bisa ngerja?no?
Then, how about this one? Do YOU think YOU can work on this one tomorrow afternoon?

The PP /yu/ borrowed from English is a great deal in use by educated interlocutors, particularly the younger generation and is commonly used to address an equal. In the following example an educated young man is talking with his acquaintance about a third person:

231. Mungkén yu sendiri tau ko? órangnyá.
Perhaps YOU have known her yourself.

Among Peranakans the PP /lu/ (of Chinese origin) is frequently used, particularly when talking to a younger addressee or a person of lower status than the speaker. /lu/ is also used among friends. In the following example an elderly Peranakan woman is talking to her adult child who is driving a family car:

232. Elu Cung, nè? lu galugalan lhó ya, ema? nda? mau.
Cung, I do not want to go with YOU if YOU drive carelessly.

In Javanese /kon/ or /koen/ is mainly used by children and friends of long standing, particularly in Malang, Surabaya, Mojokerto and their

environs. The PP /peno/ is mainly used to show a little deference such as to one's husband, parent or older relative when one speaks in N in which the older interlocutor generally uses /koen/ in response. /peno/ is particularly common in use in Surabaya and its vicinity. The N PP /kowé/ is also in use, particularly in south-western parts of East Java, to address younger relatives, friends and often also unfamiliar children. The K Javanese PP /sampeyan/ is a great deal in use in East Java in both N and K levels (in Central Java it is used on the K level only), to show a little deference such as to friends, acquaintances, older friends or relatives and to one's superior, one may use the KI (honorific) form /penjenengan/ on the N and K level. In Dutch the usage of /ü/ resembles that of /penjenengan/. Many educated people, particularly of the older generation and their offspring, use it when speaking Indonesian so that it functions more or less like that of the Javanese /penjenengan/.

People in East Java often replace the second PP with /kónó/ 'there (near you)' when speaking N Javanese, and /di situ/ or /situ/ 'there (near you)' when speaking Indonesian in unofficial situations. These terms are used when the speaker is in doubt about the addressee's status (whether it is the same or slightly higher than the speaker's). These terms are also often used in casual speech among colleagues, friends or equals who are well acquainted equals when they are not interested in showing their relationships in a given situation. In the following example /situ/ is used in a conversation among a group of educated young men who know one another well:

233. A: Katanya mau sama-sama ke Surabaya, mau ngampiri, ko?
ngga? jadi?

You said you were going to pick me up and go to Surabaya together but you didn't. How come?

- B: Apanya, situ yang sudah ngiprit duluan gitu ko?
Wait a minute. It's YOU who didn't wait for me, isn't it?

4.5.3. CHOICE OF THIRD PP

Members of East Javanese society often use pro-nominalised TA when referring to a person of higher status than the speaker, particularly when the person referred to is one of the interlocutors. In this way the speaker can show the proper relationship, deference, self-identity and the like a great deal more accurately than when using PP. On many other occasions, however, the third person pronoun is used. The Indonesian /dia/ 'he or she' is given to equals or persons of lower status.

Sometimes it is also used to refer to a person higher than the speaker (e.g., the speaker's parent) but who is lower in status than the addressee (e.g., the parent one refers to is a white collar worker while the addressee is a doctor). To show deference the PP /bellow/ 'he' or 'she' may be used. In the following example a white collar worker is talking with his colleague about his ailing mother:

234. Sudah lama ko? bliow sakét
SHE has been sick for a long time.

When the white collar worker talks with his mother as /dia/:

235. Sudah kami bawa ke dokter pa? dan usaha-usaha laénnya juga? sudah kami cóba?, tapi sampèy skarang dia maséh begitu saja
We have taken her to the doctor and we have also tried traditional remedies but SHE is still in bad condition, sir.

Sometimes /bellow/ is used to honour a friend who is usually referred to as /dia/ to show a certain gratitude, respect and the like. For example, an educated young man refers to his friend whom he normally refers to as /dia/ after the referee found something important:

236. Sesudah mengadakan konsultasi dengan désa-désa sekitar dan tokoh-tokoh masyarakat tertentu, bellow menemukan bahwa hama itu dapat diserang dengan ketumbar karna tumber itu menyebarkan bau.
After some consultation with the people from the surrounding villages and with some prominent people in certain communities HE found out that we can get rid of the pests by using coriander since it spreads a certain aroma.

To refer to a good friend of about the same status as the speaker and who is present at the time of speaking, the term /ini/ 'this (guy, fellow, etc.)' is often used. For example, three ladies who know one another well are chatting and one of them uses /ini/ to refer to her lady friend:

237. A: Siapa tidór siang dé??
Which of you usually takes a nap?
 B: Saya enda?, kaló? ini. (turns to C.) Kono bubu?o.
Not me, SHE does. Why don't you take a nap?
 C: Ngga? iso turu.
I can't sleep.

People also often refer to a good friend, a colleague or an acquaintance of about the same status as themselves as /situ/ 'there' or /sana/ 'over there' (the Javanese equivalent in N is /kono/ 'over there').

For example, a Peranakan uses /situ/ to refer to a friend of his:

238. Lha habés gimana aku kaló? nganter, wong situ sudah dianter
maminya ko?

*What could I do if I accompanied her since she had been
accompanied by her own mother, you know.*

4.6. EXCEPTIONS IN CHOICE OF TA AND PR AND AVOIDANCE OF TA AND PR

In daily life a person often runs into somebody with whom he has some difficulty in establishing a mutual role relationship. In such a situation one often comes up with a certain usage of TA and PR which one considers the best but which may not conform to the rules of choice of TA and PR discussed above. Some personal past experience and one's idiosyncrasy in preferring TA and PR have a great deal of influence in making a decision in such a case. For example, an educated Peranakan woman is normally addressed as /nyonya/ by a non-Peranakan (see Choice 1, 3 and 4 in Table 9), particularly when the Peranakan is a business-woman, saleswoman or the like. The TA /bu/ usually applies to Peranakan women who are teachers, doctors and those who are in the civil service, while /tante/ is ordinarily addressed to a Peranakan woman much older than the speaker and who has an intimate relationship with the speaker. In the following example an educated Javanese woman is introduced to an educated Peranakan businesswoman who is a little bit older than the Javanese. The Peranakan was born in Bandung and has an Indonesian name and has been a permanent resident of East Java for many years. Learning this, the Javanese who herself once lived in Bandung addresses her in Sundanese and uses /bu/ instead of /nyonya/:

239. Javanese: Di Bandung tèh kapungkur dimana bu?
Where did you live when you were in Bandung, MOTHER?

Peranakan: I, gĕning tlasa Sunda nya?? Di èta, di jalan Oto
Iskandardinata, bu.
*My, you speak Sundanese? Well, I used to live
on Jalan Oto Iskandardinata, MA'AM.*

Later they continue to conversation in Indonesian.

Rise in status frequently causes conflicting choices of TA and PR (see also 4.2.4) which members of society have to deal with carefully. One of the best ways of dealing with such a problem is to join the public in recognising the person who has attained the rise in status by using the TA commonly addressed to him while using the old TA only in private. For example, a high school teacher addresses the district head's wife /bu bupati/ in public, but in a direct conversation with the addressee she uses the TA /mba?/, the TA she has been using for a long time since

they were schoolgirls. When talking about her old friend with her colleague she says:

240. Bu Bupati itu kan mba? Daryati teman sekelas saya di èsèmpé dulu.

MRS. DISTRICT HEAD is actually DARYATI, my classmate at junior high school you know.

People are normally more careful in emplying TA and PR to women or to an addressee of different sex than the speaker and women are usually more formal in using TA than are men (see also 4.2.6). The educated Javanese customer whose statement is quoted in example 145, for instance, addresses the Peranakan owner of the store as /koh/ and the Peranakan's wife as /nyah/. The customer's wife, however, avoids the use of TA when addressing the male Peranakan and uses /nyah/ to address the Peranakan's wife (see 193 for the avoidance of TA in 4.2.6). In another example, an educated young man uses the PP /sampeyan/ right away when he addresses a male vendor as in:

241. Sampéyan jualan benéh untó? cemara itu?

Do YOU carry seedlings of that kind of casuarina tree?

To a female vendor of about the same age as the male one, however, he uses the TA and PR in most of the conversation.

Avoidance of TA and PR is usually employed in brief encounters where the relationship between the interlocutors is unimportant, such as buying tickets at the ticket window, buying stamps at the post office, buying some cigarettes at a cigarette booth and the like. So it is very common for a passenger at the ticket window at the railway station to say:

242. Surabaya tiga.

Three tickets to Surabaya.

Avoidance of TA and PR is also used when the speaker is not sure about the appropriate TA and PR for an addressee mainly because the speaker does not know enough about the addressee's social background. Sometimes a speaker does not use any TA or PR because he has never run into an addressee with a certain identity in a certain environment. For example, members of East Javanese society tend to address an unfamiliar Westerner as /tuan/ and expect the addressee to speak Indonesian. But many Indonesians will not know how to address an unfamiliar Westerner who speaks Javanese and comes to the village, for instance. For example, a village head is introduced to an American young woman who has been addresses as /bu èn/ 'Mrs. Ann' bu her Indonesian friends who accompany her. The village head, however, does not directly address her so because he is much older than she. He does not address her /jeng/ either because she

is not a Javanese even though she speaks Javanese. Further, her arrival in that particular village is more like a tourist who wants to see the village life unofficially and thus the role relationship which is being established is that of an old man and a young foreigner instead of that of a village head and a young foreigner. For some time the village head avoids using TA as in:

243. Village Head: Asmanipón?
Your name. (Lit. 'The name', in KI)

American: Ann.

Village Head: Sakéng Amérika sampón tinda? pundi kémawon?
*Which parts of this country have been seen
 since your arrival here from the States?*

Later he decides to join the Indonesian friends who accompany her to address her /bu/. On the other hand, many outsiders tend to avoid using any TA whose social background is unclear to them. For example, an American young woman who is talking with an old masseuse never uses a TA at all. To many people in the city the old woman is known and addressed as /mbah dhukon/ 'grandma doctor' or just /mbah/ 'grandma' which is given to her as an honour. Because she is a dhukon she is addressed as /mbah/ rather than /ibu/. As a matter of fact, she does not look old enough to be addressed as /mbah/ by everybody. The American interlocutor does not use the TA /mbah/ probably because she has never used such a TA before, or maybe she does not know the social significance of the common address for the old woman or perhaps she thinks /bu/ is still appropriate for her instead of /mbah/ but she feels embarrassed to use /bu/ since nobody in the neighbourhood does so. The following quotations are taken from the conversation:

244. American: Ada banya? langganan?
Do you have many clients?

Masseuse: O banya? non .
Oh, I have plenty, miss.

American: Cucu?nya banya??
Do you have many grandchildren?

Masseuse: Cucu?nya nem.
I have six grandchildren.

American: Ana?nya maséh ada di sini?
Are your children here?

Among young people the terms /mba?/, /mba?yu/, /mas/ and /dé?/ are very common (see also quotations 139 and 140 in 4.2.2.1.1). These

terms, however, are more common among young employees and graduate students, particularly those who do not have a long-standing friendship with one another, or those who are married. Many younger students and classmates, particularly those who have known one another for years, do not use a title to address one another. Many students who have been addressing one another without a title may one day use the terms /mas/, /dé?/, etc., to one another, when their parents become friends or when they find out that their parents are colleagues or friends. This new habit is reinforced when they often interact as the children of good friends, e.g., at a picnic attended by friends and their families, at parties, when one family visits another family and on many similar occasions. This change in choice TA marks the change in relationship, i.e., from that of classmates to that of friends.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDONESIAN VIS-À-VIS OTHER LANGUAGES

5.0. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia. As such it is used for all official and educational purposes in East Java. It is the language of government administration, much of the radio and TV programming, newspapers, and nearly all educational institutions. In addition, Indonesian is the lingua franca for communication among members of different ethnic groups. Indonesian thus has two sorts of functions: first, it is the language of the situation where diglossia obtains; second, it is the language of interethnic communication. There is a great deal of bilingualism in urban areas - people tend to know both Indonesian and the native language (Javanese, Madurese or, for a limited number of people, the native language of the immigrants). (See also 1.3.) In rural areas where education is limited (including urban neighbourhoods which are self-contained communities) monolingualism is widespread. The usages that we discuss here are from urban areas where a situation of diglossia with widespread bilingualism occurs. Thus, there are certain contexts in which the local language is the proper and normal code; and there are also contexts in which a choice of codes is possible and a code choice expresses social or psychological nuances.

Code choice - Indonesian or native language - is very much dictated by the social values which we have discussed above (see also Chapter 2). In practical terms, it is the setting, tone, subject matter and the role relationship and social identity of the participants in the conversation which dictate code choice.

To some extent, also, Dutch has assumed the role of a code in East Java. It is widely used among Ambonese and Mendonese groups as an

in-group code; to some extent by Peranakan Chinese and Javanese and Madurese who have had a substantial portion of their education in Dutch-language schools. (The latter for the most part ceased to exist by the early fifties.) For these groups Dutch signals elite membership - Dutch education was very limited and Dutch diglossia was and is not based on any sort of extensive bilingualism.

There is also some Chinese-Indonesian bilingualism in Java, which is beyond the scope of this study. In any case, the various codes which exist among various portions of the East Javanese population have left their trace in the form of numerous loan forms, as will be discussed in Chapter Six below.

5.1. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC MEANING OF INDONESIAN AND OTHER LANGUAGES AS CODES

Since the majority of the East Javanese people are Javanese, the Javanese language is spoken in most parts of East Java (except in Madurese areas) and has become the most commonly used language in East Java (see also 1.3). The second and subsequent generations of non-Javanese residents of East Java ordinarily speak Javanese, primarily the N level, since Javanese is the code of friendliness, closeness, informality and the like, whereas Indonesian, for the Javanese, is formal, distant, impersonal. Therefore, in order to draw close to Javanese, outsiders tend to use Javanese. In East Java, intimates on the same level generally exchange N; consequently N is what they learn. Their usage differs, however, in many respects from that of the native Javanese - not only in the thoroughness of their command, but especially in the use of honorifics, which outsiders rarely control, but which are important for Javanese among themselves.

The Madurese language, more or less, has similar significance on the island of Madura and in several parts of East Java where the Madurese form a majority.

The Peranakan Chinese speak a variant of Indonesian (which in this study we have called Peranakan Chinese Indonesian or PCI)¹ confined to

¹ Both Peranakans and non-Peranakans in E. Java are aware that the Peranakans speak a variety of language peculiar to themselves. This awareness is manifested in their different attitudes towards the variety, as well as in usage and understanding of the variety. People in East Java have known this variety for a very long time and used to call it bahasa Melayu Tionghoa (or Cina) '*Chinese Malay*'. Now the most common term is bahasa Indonesia Tionghoa (or Cina) '*Chinese Indonesian*'. For practical purposes we have used the term Peranakan Chinese Indonesian or PCI for the same variety (see our discussions in 1.3.2.1). For those who are unfamiliar with varieties of Indonesian and their usages, it is often very hard to distinguish one variety from the others because interlocutors frequently switch from one variety into another or even from one language into another. Thus two educated Peranakans may at one point of their conversation speak standard Indonesian, then for some reason switch into PCI

members of the Peranakan Chinese ethnic group. Servants and workers employed by the Peranakans often speak this variety with their employers. They may also use a variety of Indonesian of their own with forms typically used by the Peranakans. The speech of the Peranakans, however, is not deemed acceptable by educated Indonesians since it is considered sub-standard. Indonesian children who pick up this speech from their classmates are ordinarily censured by their parents and teachers and are given the standard models almost immediately as a substitute for the sub-standard forms. Many educated Indonesians can understand the dialect but do not try to speak it. Those who have been exposed to the dialect daily may unconsciously use some typical forms taken from the dialect. For example, a Javanese employee at a cigarette factory where many Peranakans are employed greets an acquaintance in a cafeteria as follows:

245. É, pa? Badri. Mari pa?, sampè?ken.

Hi, Mr. Badri (PLEASE GO AHEAD AND ENJOY YOURSELF).

In PCI /sampè?ken/ is used to greet someone who is drinking or eating or relaxing which is similar to the N Javanese /dikepéna?aké/ or the Indonesian /mari silakan/ 'please', 'enjoy yourself'.

The limited number of Dutch-speaking Indonesians use a variety of Indonesian common among them (see Chapter Three for their typical phonological and grammatical choices and Chapter Six for their choices of loans). Their descendants who continue to learn some Dutch at home sometimes use Dutch expressions as an in-group symbol, but not in the presence of peers who know no Dutch (see also 6.3.1 and 6.3.2).

English has become increasingly popular among the literati. However, the number of those who use English as a code is not great enough to form a significant English speaking community in society. Since Indonesian is also the language of the educated people and is obviously a

in which they use a number of Javanese lexical items that at another point of the conversation (while they are using PCI) they already sound like they are speaking Javanese (except for a few typical PCI forms). Later, they can switch completely into N Javanese with no trace of PCI (nor standard Indonesian), then they may switch back to using standard Indonesian and so on. To call this variety Peranakan Chinese Javanese or PCJ instead of PCI, however, is obviously out of the question, since most Peranakans in East Java do speak N Javanese (without the typical PCI forms), namely when they speak with their Javanese servants, with Javanese vendors and with many of their Javanese friends. In addition, PCI resembles NEJI (the variety of Indonesian spoken by non-educated Javanese) except for the typical loans and other forms which are peculiar to PCI. Thus in terms of linguistic description, it is more convenient to consider this variety one of the varieties of Indonesian, instead of that of Javanese. Further, to refer to this variety as one variety of Indonesian is in line with the political significance since it is Indonesian which has been considered one of the means of uniting the numerous ethnic groups in Indonesia into one nation, the Indonesians. (The Peranakans in Central Java normally speak Javanese, N in particular, while those in West Java speak Sundanese. My Peranakan friends from these two areas also call the PCI of East Java bahasa Indonesia Tionghoa.)

great deal easier to learn, it seems there is no urgency for the intellectuals to learn English as a code like the older intellectuals had to learn Dutch. It is now a common practice, therefore, for an educated person to indicate his sophistication by using standard Indonesian tinted with loans, particularly English (see 6.4 ff. for English loans).

Indonesian which occupies the highest position among all the languages is not, however, the most widely spoken language in East Java, since it also implies formality, unfamiliarity, and the like. In the following sections we are going to investigate the devices which East Javanese people use when they want to sound sophisticated yet intimate, serious but friendly as well as the other meanings attached to the choice of language.

5.2. CHOICE OF LANGUAGE IN TERMS OF SETTING, SUBJECT MATTER, TONE AND PURPOSE

The setting, subject matter, tone of conversation, and the purpose for which the utterance was made all serve to influence the choice of code. None of these factors is paramount. For example, the subject matter may be of the sort which calls for Indonesian but the setting one that does not. In such cases either Indonesian or Javanese may be chosen, depending on other factors in the social situation. For example, for a newcomer to a place, maintaining a friendly tone may be paramount, and thus Javanese is chosen even in setting and subject matters which call for Indonesian ordinarily. We discuss these factors in the following sections.

5.2.1. SETTING AND SCENE

Where a speech situation occurs often has a great affect on choice of subject matter and consequently, the appropriate choice of tone. For example, it is not in accordance with the *toto kromo* principles to discuss family matters in an office since ordinarily in offices people deal with the particular business and affairs of that office. Likewise people who work in the bank always maintain a serious demeanor and speak with their customers in an efficient and concise Indonesian. On the other hand, in a */kelurahan/ 'office of the village head'*, the officials, who number no more than half a dozen, work in a more relaxed fashion. The office ordinarily occupies the large front section of the village head's house, thus allowing visitors to the lurah's family and those who have dealings with the *kelurahan* to use the same entrance. This and many other factors have made people in the *kelurahan* feel more familiar than would be the case in an office. Indeed, while working they can chat in Javanese about almost any subject of current interest. The

visitors who are waiting for their turn to see the lurah or his secretary may join in the conversation with a great deal of ease, since most of them are from the same village and thus know one another.

The urban /kelurahan/, however, differs a bit from this picture. It more closely resembles an ordinary office with compartments or small rooms to house the officials (who may be twice the number of those in the rural /kelurahan/). There are usually a great number of matters within the urban /kelurahan/ which keep everyone occupied during office hours. As in other government offices, office workers speak to their visitors in Indonesian (SIEJ) except when the latter is a monolingual speaker of a regional language. Unlike the rural /kelurahan/, the urban /kelurahan/ deals with many unfamiliar people which also compels the interlocutors to use Indonesian, the common language among strangers and non-acquaintances in the urban areas. However, when the officials and the visitors happen to be acquaintances, friends or neighbours, they may speak in the local language which is their usual means of communication, moving from the business-like tone to a much friendlier one. In the following example, an elderly well-to-do widow who has two adult children working in Jakarta wants to obtain a travel permit from her rural /lurah/ to visit the two children. After greeting the secretary she expresses her intention in Javanese:

246. A: Anu, sówan kulo mriki na? Caré?, badhé nyuwón serat keterangan tuwi ana? kulo dhateng Jakarta.

Well, Mr. Secretary, I have come here to ask for a travel permit to go and see my kids in Jakarta.

B: O, inggéh bu. Badhé dangu tinda?ipón?

Yes, ma'am. Are you going to stay there long?

A: Mboten ko? na? kaléh minggu kémawon.

No, son. Just two weeks.

The widow A is a respected woman in the village as shown by the K level and the KI forms used by the village head's secretary. The whole conversation sounds very informal, more like a conversation between two relatives at home than between an official and a visitor in an office.

The scene above contrasts with the following, where an elderly man tries to buy bicycle licenses for his sons' bicycles at an urban /kelurahan/:

247. A: Permisi, mau beli pèneng spéda, di mana ya?

Excuse me. Could you tell me where to buy bicycle licenses?

- B: Ya? Ó, di kamar lima, sebelah kiri, tu situ.
Yes? Oh, it's in room five, over there on the left.
- Trima kasih.
Thanks.
- (Later in room five): Permisí.
Excuse me.
- C: Ya? Lhó Pa? Kósno wonten kerso pa?
Yes? Oh, Mr. Kusno! What can I do for you?
- A: Lhé, dhé? Hadi to iki. Anu dhé?, badhé nyuwón pèneng
 spédha kanggé Budi kaliyan Hari meniko ihó.
*Oh, I didn't know you work here, Hadi. Well, I'd like
 to buy bicycle licenses for Budi and Harry, you know.*

The elderly man A does not know B and so he approaches him as he usually would in a government office, i.e., in Indonesian (SIEJ). B sounds very businesslike and says only what is necessary. A proceeds to approach C in the same manner as he has approached B. C is writing when A greets him and answers in Indonesian /ya/ 'yes'. When he looks up, however, he recognises A as his neighbour and switches into K with honorific forms, the usual means of communication as neighbours. A is a bit surprised to find his neighbour there and speaks in N, as if he were thinking aloud (called /ngudoroso/ in Javanese). He continues in K addressing Mr. Hadi directly. The use of Javanese here is a result of their familiarity which contrasts with the use of Indonesian between A and B above (see also the use of TA in Chapter Four).

There are other settings where interlocutors do not have much choice in the language. In class for example, the medium of instruction is SIEJ except in a language class other than Indonesian. The tone is more or less serious allowing for some variation on the part of the teachers. Some strict teachers do not allow any other language other than Indonesian in class while some make the class more interesting and relaxed by making little jokes and comments in a local language.

5.2.1.1. Language Choice in Ceremonies

Nowadays in certain non-official situations such as wedding parties and many other traditional gatherings where there is some ceremony to conduct, people prefer to use Indonesian in conducting the ceremonies and in making speeches (which are often a part of the ceremonies). Two samples of wedding ceremonies, one in a village in Pandaan and the other in the city of Blitar, show this tendency. In both ceremonies there are guests from the neighbouring cities besides the local ones, intellectuals as well as non-intellectuals, relatives and non-relatives. In the fol-

lowing example from the wedding in Pandaan two members of the group which is responsible for taking pictures talk in Javanese about the film in one of the cameras:

248. A: Karè? piro isiné?

How many more shots are there left?

B: Sepisan engkas nè? ga? lóró engkas. Sé? ta? jeprètné tamu-tamu kéné ki aé.

One or two more left. Here, let me snap the guests over here.

This conversation exemplifies the language used by individuals who are not involving themselves in a certain ritual (thus a private act). In another example, the master of ceremony in the wedding in Pandaan invites in Indonesian a group of honoured guests to conduct a ritual:

249: Kami harapkan ibu-ibu yang ada di dalam untó? membantu temantèn di dalam pemotongan kuéh tar ini.

The honoured ladies in the living room are now requested to help the bride to cut the bridal cake.

Later, some /petuah/ 'advice' directed at the happy couple is given in Indonesian (SIEJ), first by an elder representing the bridegroom's family, followed by another elder who represents the bride's family. Here is an excerpt:

250. Hari ini ana?da berdua sudah tida? menjadi bébas seperti semula. Janji-janji ikatan yang semula kau susón skarang sudah tercapèy. Dengan tercapèynya maksót ini ana?da berdua henda?nya bisa membina diri, bisa mengatasi dengan penuh kesabaran, dimana setiap kali langkah menghadapi kesukaran henda?nya kamu jangan sekali-kali putós asa.
From now on you two shall no longer be free-spirited as you used to be. The promises of being bound that you first agreed to now have been realised. With their realisation, you will be able to lead your lives and overcome any problem with full consciousness. In any event I would hope that your steps in facing difficulties will never come to naught.

The use of Indonesian in ceremonies in such a village implies that there is a growing tendency to use Indonesian in situations (transitional ceremonies) where the local language was formerly employed. This usage contrasts with what obtains in Central Java where ceremonies are still largely conducted in Javanese. One of the reasons for this development in East Java is probably the particular language attitudes found in East Java, namely that the East Javanese are not as confident of the

of the language that they use as are the Central Javanese. Also the relative popularity of dramatic forms in Central Java that use highly literary Javanese makes for a much more widespread knowledge of formal ceremonial Javanese.

5.2.1.2. Indonesian in the Family as a Substitute for Speech Levels

Many families in urban areas send their children to school where Indonesian is the means of instruction from kindergarten. In helping their children master Indonesian, many intellectuals speak only Indonesian with their children at home; others speak only Indonesian when they assist their children in their school assignments at home and continue to use Javanese (including K and the honorific forms) in other situations. These children, however, only hear the K and the KI forms at home, since most families use either Indonesian or N Javanese. Such children speak N Javanese and Indonesian with their parents if they are allowed to do so. The following example is of an educated Javanese family where the children must speak either K with KI forms or Indonesian with their elders, and where the parents use N to the children. To the parents' N the younger children respond in Indonesian while their teenage children respond in Indonesian or K. Here are some excerpts:

251. Father: (N) Nyang aóla dólanan opo di, nang oditorium?
What do you usually do in the auditorium, Di?
- Budi: (I) Liat-liat lukisan, art.
Look at the paintings and other works of art.
- Mother: (I) Boléh?
Is it allowed?
- Hari: (I) Boléh. Itu ada unto? art.
Sure, there's an art exhibition.
- Mother: (N) Art iku opo to?
What is "art"?
- Budi: (I) Seni.
It's art.
- Hari: (I) Trós ada angklóng, musik, trós ada njaét itu lhó.
Also there are musical instruments like ANGKLUNG, and sewing machines, etc.

Later, an older son interrupts them in KM (Kromo Madyo), but the younger son Hari continues in Indonesian:

252. Suryo: Pa?, kucéng niku diithik-ithik nggéh kroso niku, gló.
Dad, cats feel ticklish too when you tickle them.
- Look.*

Mother: (N) Bagéyané sopo njupó? wésé kucéng
*Whose turn is it to take care of the kitten's
 litter?*

Hari: (I) Saya. Sudah disuntek ko?, blóm diisi.
*Me. I already threw out the old dirt but I
 haven't put in new dirt.*

5.2.2. SUBJECT MATTER

When friends run into one another in the street and stop to chat for awhile about their families, their common interest, and the like, they usually use the local language, to show their intimacy and familiarity. However, when they change the subject into talking about their professions or matters with which they usually deal in their profession they may switch into Indonesian, since they are accustomed to discussing such subjects in Indonesian. For example, two colleagues and neighbours who run into one another on their way to pick up their respective children from school begin talking about the children in Javanese. They switch to Indonesian when they change the subject to entrance tests at their university:

253. A: Wés metu kabèh, pa?
Have your children all gotten out?
- B: Uwés séng cilé?, séng gedhé duróng.
*The younger one has, but the older one is still
 in school.*

They continue talking in Javanese about their family for a while before B changes the subject in Indonesian (EJI):

254. B: Anu pa?, tèst masó? jurusan ékónómi itu apa nda?
 disesuéykan dengan pelajaran ana?-ana? di èsèma?
*By the way, isn't the entrance test for the Department
 of Economics co-ordinated with the material which they
 took up in high school?*
- A: Lhó disesuéykan ko?. Cuma? barangkali mémang meréka
 tida? biasa dengan bentó? tèst itu.
*Sure, it is. Only they probably are not used to the
 format of the test.*
- B: Sbab pada umómnnya ko? kangèlen ngónó lhó untó? ana?-ana?.
Because in general IT'S TOO HARD.

Further, B expresses his disbelief of what A has just said concerning the test. This disbelief is expressed in a kind of comment (underlined and in capital letters) which is put in Javanese to make it sound more

like a personal opinion, or as if the speaker were thinking aloud (/ngudoroso/) rather than an expression of fact, a criticism and the like (see /ngudoroso/ in 5.5).

The diglossic characteristics of Indonesian-Javanese usage is also found in the speech of a Javanese lecturer in his Islamic lecture which he gives in Indonesian, much as in the Arab lands they use Koranic Arabic for the lesson, and brings it home to the students in their own language, here Javanese. In the following example, he clarifies the Prophet's words in Indonesian:

255. Tida? ada kebaikan sama sekali pada seseorang dari kalangan umatku yang tida? berilmu dan tida? pula menuntót ilmu.
It would be completely wrong for any of my followers who is not knowledgeable and not to seek to enhance his knowledge.

The style of the Indonesian translation from the Koranic Arabic is often difficult to understand, so that further explanations are often given. The young lecturer above has a good sense of humour and finds an effective shorter way of explaining such a translation to his students, namely by using comments and jokes in Javanese, the code the students are most familiar with. The Javanese comments for the translation above is:

256. Pinter yo ga?, golè? ilmu yo ga? gelem. Wés ga? ènè? apaapané.
*He is not bright, yet he does not want to seek knowledge.
 So he is good for nothing.*

Further, he also uses a great number of Javanese loans in his lecture (see Javanese loans in Chapter Six).

In another example three students (one non-Javanese and two Javanese) are chatting in colloquial Indonesian with a great number of expressions and jokes in Javanese or in an Indonesian-Javanese mixture primarily because a non-Javanese is participating. As much as possible, they switch back into Javanese to preserve the feeling of intimacy. The only reason that they do not use Javanese entirely is that it would not be understood by the non-Javanese. Here is some of the conversation when they are talking about girls:

257. A: Bahaya itu orang-orang. Masa? di sana kuliah kerja nda? taunya kuliah nglèthèk. Mas Bèni (non-Javanese) dapat brapa?
You guys are sneaky. You are supposed to serve as student volunteers but it turns out you spend most of your time FLIRTING. How many girls did you get, Beni?

B: Tiga. Saya berdua sama mas Cahyo.
Three for both of us, Cahyo and me.

Ini gadésku mas, lagi nunggu di Kupang.
This is my girl friend, brother. She is waiting for me in Kupang.

A: Sudah siriós apa belóm? Knapa di sini maséh
ngrèntèngi aja?

Are you serious about her? If so, why are you still COLLECTING AS MANY GIRLS AS YOU CAN GET?

C: Maseh ngulo saja.
He's quite A SNEAKY GUY!

B, the non-Javanese, and C have just come back from performing their tour of duty as student volunteers in rural areas. They are all laughing happily when they are talking about their experiences. However, when student A asks them seriously about their experiences in the remote areas, they become more serious and switch into more or less standard Indonesian (SIEJ), the code they would normally choose to discuss about such subject matters:

258. A: Hasél-hasél yang kongkrét dari kuliah kerja nyata itu apa?
What are the concrete results of the Student Service?

B: Kalow kita ke sana dengan mótivasi-mótivasi téóritis akan memancéng kemalasan meréka, maka itu jalan pertama untó? setiap désa kita usahakan próyèk cecil-kecilan dengan catatan walowpón dalam waktu singkat kita akhiri dengan penampakan hasél secara flsík.
If we go there with theoretical motivations alone, it will only serve to make them lazier. Therefore, the first step we take is to establish one small project for each village which will bring forth concrete results in a short time.

He continues that he and his friend have helped the villagers solve various problems. Later when A indicates his interest in visiting the villages for pleasure, they switch back into colloquial Indonesian and Javanese (the underlined forms are indicative of a colloquial Indonesian);

259. A: Kaló? ada kesempatan saya ikót ke sana.
If I had the chance, I would like to go there with you.

B: Bóléh nanti ke sana. Tapi ikót merasakan itu ya, naé? suberbèn di atas kapnya itu ya?

Sure, you're welcome to go there with us, but you have to ride on the roof of the jitney with us!

C: Ya, ya, ya. Dudó? di atas, tida? senang dudó? di dalam.
Yes, that's right. You got to ride on the roof. You wouldn't want to ride inside the jitney!

A: Kenapa?
Why?

C: (J) Nang njeró untek-untekan, ó, untek-untekan nang njeró.
Oh, they pack them in like sardines.

In the following example a group of teachers of English discuss their teaching problems in Indonesian but make comments in English as they are accustomed to using English as the medium of instruction in class and with one another at school particularly when a native English speaker (who is also a faculty member) is present. Here is an example of a statement and its comment made at a meeting:

260. A: Pertama kali saya minta maaf atas tayping èror dalam halaman pertama yang mungkén menyebabkan susah dibaca.
First I have to apologise for the TYPING ERRORS found on the first page which might make it difficult to read.

B: *NOT JUST DIFFICULT, BUT TOO DIFFICULT.*

They also use a great number of English loans in the discussion (as exemplified by the underlined phrases above). As a matter of fact, the report which A made was written in English. Javanese is often heard in private whispered conversations between participants sitting next to one another. During the break, however, they feel much freer to choose any of the three codes they are all familiar with in accordance with the role relationships, intimacy, etc. As fellow teachers during office hours they use Indonesian, as specialists they use English and as colleagues and friends they may use Javanese or other regional languages. Teacher A in the following example talks with a Javanese friend and colleague during the break in Javanese:

261. A: Jaré até nang Michigan?
They say you are leaving for Michigan.

C: O, Michigan? Maséh lama.
Oh, Michigan? It's still some time.

A: Adhuh, kabèh-kabèh ko? plejdl. Medèni yo?
Wow, everybody will be a PhD here. Scary, isn't it?

Later C also uses Javanese, the code they both usually communicate in with one another outside of class.

5.2.3. PURPOSE

The purpose of a certain speech event frequently decides the choice of language. In bargaining, for example, a non-Javanese resident of East Java often tries to win the favour of a Javanese vendor by using Javanese; a pedicab driver who is trying to persuade a Peranakan Chinese to take his pedicab speaks Indonesian with some typical forms used by the Peranakans; some students who have been conversing with their teacher at the teacher's house in Javanese switch into Indonesian when one of them announces that their purpose for the visit is related to the final exams they are going to take at school, speakers of Javanese may switch into a favour. In the following example a teenage girl who ordinarily communicates with her parents in Madyo with honorifics switches into Kromo with honorifics when she asks her mother's permission to see a pop music concert:

262. Bu, mangké sonten Sri pareng menopo mboten nonton bèn dhateng oditorium kaliyan bu lé?? Wangsólipón kaliyan kanca-kancani-pón bu lé? ko?.

Mother, may I go along with Auntie to see a pop concert at the auditorium? Auntie's friends will walk us home.

Both the mother and the child are aware of the switch in levels, that one has to show more respect and politeness when one wants to win somebody else's favour. The girl above uses the colloquial K style but it conveys a serious appeal (indicated by the absence of contracted forms) that the mother cannot just ignore. Had the girl not been much interested in going, she might have used the KM which would have meant also that she would not be disappointed if she were not given the permission. In this case she might have said:

263. Bu?, mengké sonten Sri pareng nopo nboten nonton bèn teng oditorium kaléh bu le?? Wangsulé kaléh kanca-kancané bu lé? ko?.

Mum, can I go along . . . etc.

The changes are found in the underlined terms. This request is still a polite request since it still uses the honorific /pareng/ 'be allowed to', but the Madyo forms (underlined) have made the whole expression lack its seriousness, formality, or the like.

In another example, a Peranakan Chinese (B) who knows K Javanese and who is going to move in a completely Javanese neighbourhood speaks to a neighbourhood elder (P) in K Javanese in order to get accepted. The Peranakan, however, continues to use Indonesian with a Javanese educated acquaintance (A) who lives in the neighbourhood:

264. A: Mas Budi, pa? Parto ini sesepóh kita di sini.
Budi, I want you to meet Mr. Parto, an elder in this neighbourhood.
- B: (To the elder, in K)
 Nepangaken pa?, kulo Budi, badhé dados tangginipón mas Ali meniko.
My name's Budi. I'll be Ali's next door neighbour.
- P: (To B, in KM)
 Njéng nopo boyongan?
When are you going to move in?
- B: Minggu pa?, yèn mboten senèn.
Probably this Sunday or Monday, sir.

5.3. CHOICE OF LANGUAGE AS REFLECTIONS OF ROLE RELATIONSHIP

The role relationships of the interlocutors in a conversation are an important factor in code choice. Interlocutors who are brought together for business for the first time will tend to use standard Indonesian while those who have dealt in business many times will normally use colloquialisms in their speech and those who are intimates will still use a different code. For example, when Javanese colleagues who are also friends are discussing an official matter for which the proper code is Indonesian, there are digressions into the Javanese Ngoko level as indications of intimate relations among them, i.e., they do not have strong feelings of *sungkan* towards one another.

5.3.1. CHOICE OF LANGUAGE AMONG RELATIVES

As shown in the choice of TA (see Chapter Four), the factor of kin becomes significant in unofficial situations. This rule also applies to code choice. Among members of a family and among relatives the commonly used language for communication is the mother tongue. When Javanese is used, a choice of speech levels must be made. Among children the N level is normally used. Among adults usually N is used with honorifics to show respect among equals, K or KM with honorifics directed at elders to receive plain N, N with honorifics or reciprocal K depending on the status of the younger relatives and degree of intimacy of their relationship. Further, a child may use KM with honorifics when speaking with the parents in an ordinary conversation and use K with honorifics for special purposes (see 5.2.3). In both cases the parents respond in N. The following example is the response of the mother to the child's request quoted in 261 (section 5.2.3):

265. Mother: Yo, néng mengkó maturo bapa?, pareng ga?. Ne? niat arep lungo pé?èré digarap sé? kono.
Sure, but you'd better ask your father's permission too. If you really want to go you'd better do your school assignments right now.

The mother and father communicate in N with one another, with honorifics to show respect and as models for the children to follow. For example, when they are talking about special periodicals for the children they say:

266. Mother: Sri ijé? anu, ngrebuti wé?è adhi?é. Jaréné biyèn ga? tau dipundhotaké anu, ga? tau dilanggananké majalah.
Sri often annoys her brothers by taking away their magazines. She complains tjat we never BOUGHT her or subscribed to any magazine for her when she was her brother's age.

Father: Wong dilanggananké Kuncóng ngónó.
But I subscribed to Kungung for her.

Many parents allow their children to communicate in N with honorifics with their elders at home.

Reciprocal N (Usually with honorifics) is more commonly used among adult relatives in East Java, particularly those who are quite familiar with one another, but this is not always the case. In the following example a woman talks to her brother-in-law (her sister's husband) in Madyo and receives K with honorifics. They are not so intimate because the brother-in-law is just recently married to her sister:

267. Sister: Èstuné Ibu didhèrè?ké kondór sinten?
Who finally ended up accompanying Mother home?
 Brother: Kulo mba?, kaliyan keng rayi menopo.
MY WIFE (lit. 'your sister') and I.

5.3.1.1. Choice of Language Among Members of Educated Family

In urban areas, social factors such as education, life style, surroundings, and many other factors may influence code choice at home. Many educated Javanese children speak with their parents in Indonesian while the parents may use Javanese. In the following example, the parents who always use Javanese to communicate with their children receive responses in Indonesian from their small children and KM with honorifics from their older children:

268. Father: Sa?lki tekan halaman piro?
What page are you on now?
- Son A: Dilóncat-lóncat. Kadang-kadang itu hanya untó?
mbaca-mbaca nda? ditulis.
*We jump around. Sometimes we just read the
exercises not write them.*
- Son B: Guru saya itu juga? biasanya langsóng lóncat
ke sini
*My teacher usually also skips. Like now, we
skipped to here.*

Later the older son interrupts them in Madyo, directed at the father:

269. Son C: Pa?, filemé kamera niku ko? lebéh peka, pa??
Dad, why is the film in the camera MORE SENSITIVE?
- Father: Lebéh peka timbang opo?
MORE SENSITIVE than what?
- Son C: Filem négativé niki lhó.
This negative, you know.

Both the father and the older son often use Indonesian loans (underlined).

Many educated Peranakan Chinese speak SIEJ (Standard Indonesian) with members of the family at home such as exemplified in the following"

270. Mother: Pekerjaan rumahnya sudah dibikén?
Did you do your homework?
- Son: Mana, sudah sleséy tadi.
What, I finished some time ago.
- Mother: Apa si pekerjaan rumahnya?
What was your homework?
- Son: Berhítóng sama tanda tangan.
Arithmetic and your signature.

The mother employs some workers (Javanese and Peranakans) to manage a bakery. She communicates with them mostly in PCI (the typical forms are underlined):

271. Employer: Jadiné bagus?
Did they come out good?
- Employee: Sama saja. Tapi ya, di sini tempaté nda? ada
itu nyah.
*Just the same, but you don't have enough room for
it ma'am.*

With her husband she communicates in this variant also, but they use EJI when they speak with their educated non-Peranakan friends:

272. Friend: Ana?-ana? pulangnya kapan?
When did your kids return?
- Mother: Bareng kita.
They came home with us.
- Friend: Ngga? skólah itu dua minggu. Bisa dikeluarkan
 lhó itu.
*They didn't go to school for two weeks? They
 might be expelled from school, you know.*
- Mother: Tapi kan sudah minta ijèn.
But I had asked some permission for them.

The second and subsequent generations of the non-Javanese residents of East Java usually speak N Javanese while the first generation of immigrants may understand it but not use it. In the following example, a Madurese father speaks to his daughter in Madurese while his daughter answers him in N Javanese:

273. Daughter: Sa?iki tókóné ga? buka? iku, tótóp pa?
The store is closed today, Dad.
- Father: Dedi sa? aré ria ta? roko?an sekalè?
So I won't be able to smoke all day long?
- Daughter: Yo, jo? ngroko? dhisé?
That's right, don't smoke.
- Father: Aduh teker cèlól?
My, my mouth feels sour!

5.3.2. CODE CHOICE AMONG INTIMATES

Friends who are intimate with one another, who do not have any feelings of sungkan, follow social and speech behaviour as that of relatives, namely, using a mother tongue or a local language common to them. When the interlocutors are of different ethnic groups they usually use colloquial Indonesian (EJI for educated interlocutors, NEJI for non-educated ones, etc.) with expressions taken from the local language they both know (particularly Javanese). In the following example, a non-Javanese young lady who has a fair command of Javanese speaks to her older Javanese friend in colloquial Indonesian with Javanese expressions (underlined):

274. Javanese: Naé? bima gitu óm bllang.
I said (I was coming) on the Bima.
- Non-Javanese: Ngga? krungu, ngga? krungu. Bingóng Mia.
 Adé? itu si, suka? ngganggu kan?
*I DIDN'T HEAR. I was confused for I thought
 my brother was pulling my leg.*

In another example, colleagues and friends who usually speak Indonesian in the office speak Javanese and Indonesian or mixed Javanese and Indonesian on the tennis court (A and C are Javanese while B and D are non-Javanese):

275. A: (I) Itu rakètnya rómbéngan itu.
His racket is second hand.
- B: (J) Iyo Cép? Rómbéngan ndhé? Jagalan iku?
Is that right, Cep? A second-hand one from Jagalan?
- C: (J) Ngga?, nang nggèné pa? Abu.
No, I bought it from Mr. Abu.
- B: (J) O, iki njeroné wés remek iki.
I think the inside part of this racket is split.
- C: Poko? njabané sé? apé? ra? uwés ha (J)
As long as the surface is still good, it doesn't matter.
- D: (J) Murah yo?
Was it inexpensive?

A, a Javanese, opens the conversation in Indonesian since he realises that many of the people in the group are non-Javanese. However, the two non-Javanese, B and D are very good friends of C, another Javanese, and do not have the feeling of sungkan towards him and so directly join the conversation in N.

Peranakans can normally speak standard N Javanese. Here is an example where Peranakan high school students who have Javanese classmates and friends speak N during the break:

276. A: Blyèn yo, pas baskèt, séng dilateh aku, Didi?, Indrawan, Cahyo.
Didi?, Indrawan, Cahyo and myself once got some coaching for a basketball team.
- B: Lha iku éna?. Voliné yo?opo?
That's nice. How about volleyball?
- C: Voliné aé tantangen yo?opo?
How about inviting them to play a volleyball match with us?

However, they use the Peranakan dialect with one another. In the following example, some Peranakan Chinese college students who are helping one another select short novels in the school library speak in the Peranakan dialect:

277. A: Wés tiga aé nè? ga? rón.
Three is enough if you don't know.
- B: Éke juga? mau itu tho?.
Those are the only ones I want.
- C: Lhó ini tanggal kembaliné sepuluh Apré!?
What? This has to be returned April 10?
- A: Engga?. Ini sé? dulu.
No. This is the one I took before.

5.3.3. CHOICE OF CODE WITH NON-INTIMATES

In the urban areas Indonesian is the code used to address strangers including children (see 224 in 4.5.2). For example, a doctor in a public hospital normally uses Indonesian with her patients. In the following example a rural woman comes in for examination. The doctor asks the patient if she can speak Indonesian, but when it turns out that the patient prefers to speak Javanese, the interview is continued in KM Javanese. Normally, the entire interview would have been continued in Javanese but in this case there are some students present, and so the doctor puts some questions in Indonesian because of the teaching atmosphere, even though the participants all speak Javanese:

278. D: Bisa bahasa Indonésia?
Do you speak Indonesian?
- P: (Smiles)
- D: Ini sudah brapa lama?
How long have you had this?
- P: (J) Gangsal taón.
Five years.
- D: (J) Kumat-kumaten nopo mboten?
Does it keep coming back?
- P: (J) Nggéh, kumat-kumaten.
Yes, I have it again and again.
- D: (J) Né? saras niku rupiné yo?nopo?
How does it look when it heals?

- P: (J) Nggéh ngèten niki.
It just looks the same.
- D: (I) Nda? bisa sperti kulét biasa?
Doesn't it look like ordinary healthy skin?
- P: (J) Mboten, sniyén tigang mlo?, sa?niki kantón sa?mlo?.
No, there used to be three lumps. Now there is only one.

In the rural areas the common language for addressing strangers is either Javanese or Madurese (Indonesian for Peranakans). However, people often try to speak Indonesian to young villagers and children of school age who must have learned Indonesian at school. Frequently when the villagers know that they are facing a Javanese speaker they prefer to speak Javanese. In the following example a boy vendor of about twelve years old responds in Javanese (possibly because he is not secure in Indonesian, but more likely, it is incongruous to keep speaking Indonesian to a Javanese interlocutor):

279. A: (I) Dulu skólah sampèy klas brapa?
How far did you go in school?
- B: (I) Klas tiga.
Third grade.
- A: (I) Sudah diajar bahasa Indonésia kan?
You must have learned Indonesian, haven't you?
- B: (I) Sudah.
I have.
- A: (I) Itu blajar bahasa Indonésia sama siapa?
Who do you practice Indonesian with?
- B: (J) Latian kaliyan rencangipon.
I practice with my friends.
- A: Réncangipón itu apa bahasa ndonesianya (I)?
What is rencangipun in Indonesia?
- B: Mboten ngertos (J).
I don't know.

In the introductory stage people (particularly the young ones) usually speak Indonesian. When they feel this stage is passed they may switch into the local language they have in common. In the following example, two fellow passengers on a bus start talking in Indonesian:

280. A: Dari mana dé??
Where are you from, young fellow?

- B: Dari Mojokerto, pa?. Mau nonton wayang di Gondanglegi.
I'm from Mojokerto, sir. We plan to see a shadow play in Gondanglegi.

Later A, the older man, talks about his experience in the navy during the Japanese occupation:

- B: O, dulu éna? ya pa?, jaminan sosialnya?
Oh, you used to get a good salary?
- A: Ya begitu itu. Dulu itu pernah merampas perahu pembaja?
 Kita semua duablas. Semua itu dibagi. Saya bilang,
 tujuan saya bukan itu. Kaló? sowdara mau ambél, ambél.
 Saya nda? (I). Sampè? kulo disèntimen! (J).
Well, to some extent. We once captured a pirate boat, twelve of us. We divided up the goods but I didn't take a share. I said that I didn't do it for that. I told them to go ahead if they wanted to take the goods. THEY GOT MAD AT ME FOR THAT.

Up to this point the interlocutors have known one another for about half an hour and both have a nice chat. The older interlocutor (who has the less feeling of sungkan) might have thought it is time to speak in Javanese and so he starts with KM Javanese. The younger interlocutor, however, seems to be reluctant to switch into Javanese (probably he still feels sungkan) and continues in Indonesian:

- B: Iya pa? (I).
Oh, yes?
- A: Mantu?é niku nggéh koyo-koyo, tapi nggéh ludhes sedoyo (J).
They all came home rich but they just frittered it away, all of it.
- B: Tentara dulu ya? Kaló? begitu bapa? termasó? véteran? (I).
You used to be a soldier? In that case, you must be a veteran?
- A: Enda?. Kaló? saya brenti brenti (I).
No, I didn't join the Veteran League. For me, once I decided to quit, I quit completely.

The older interlocutor seems to understand the sungkan feeling of his companion and switches back into Indonesian.

Among acquaintances it is often the case that the feeling of sungkan lasts longer for the younger or lower status acquaintance whereas for the older or higher status acquaintance this feeling may last much shorter. This kind of relationship is frequently reflected in choice

of code. In the following example a young man (A) is talking to his acquaintance (B), a woman a bit older than himself. The woman shows her ease in the conversation by using more Javanese than Indonesian while the younger participant still indicates his feeling of *sungkan* by using Indonesian:

281. A: Tinggi mémang ana?nya (I).

The girl is really tall.

B: Pawa?ané ólèh, pawa?ané (J).

She has a pretty figure.

A: Seperti bu Hamid (I).

She is like Mrs. Hamid.

B: Tapi bu Hamid i ra? anu (J), matanya tu ra? seperti anu (I).

But Mrs. Hamid's eyes are, um, what do you call them?

5.4. LANGUAGE CHOICE AS A REFLECTION OF A RISE IN STATUS

East Javanese are conscious of the attainment of others and mark them in their choice of TA and PR (see 4.2.4) as well as by code choice. In the following example, a government official gets acquainted with an army major at a sports meet. They continue their relationship because they happen to have similar hobbies and originate from the same home town. However, they do not have enough opportunity to become intimate to enable them to use reciprocal N Javanese. One day the government official drops by at the major's house and is introduced to his friend's wife. He recognises her as a former schoolmate. He hesitates a little then addresses her in Javanese:

282. A: Bu, . . . Tati yo? Èsèmpé Nganjó??

Oh, hi! You're . . . Mrs. Tati? You used to go to school at Nganjo??

B: Lhó, sopo yo (J)?

Oh, who are you?

A: Anton Kul-Dhi, bu (J).

I'm Anton Big-knees.

B: Ah masa?, ko? laén betól skarang (I).

Good Lord! You sure have changed!

C: Habés sudah jadi órang gedhé ko? skarang (I).

Sure, he is a big boss now.

Government official (A) hesitates a little because he is not sure how to address her now (they used to call one another by their given names

only), but he decides /bu/ is an appropriate address for a major's wife. However, he uses her maiden name to indicate that he has known her since childhood. He invites her to communicate in Javanese, the language they used when they were in high school together. The first response she made is like talking to herself (see ngudoroso, 5.5) and uses Javanese. Later she realises that his appearance has changed and suspects that he might be an important person now (or a person of high rank that should not just be addressed in N). So she speaks in Indonesian. Her husband (C) jokingly confirms her suspicion stating that (A) who used to look gawky in his shorts, exposing his two big knees is now a high ranking government official. They continue their conversation basically in Indonesian (they were just schoolmates, not intimate friends) but they intersperse it with a great number of jokes (old jokes they learned in high school) and special expressions in Javanese to refer to their former childhood together.

In another example, the wife of a college teacher recognises her husband's senior colleague (a professor) as her former teacher in high school. One day at a *halah-bi-halal* gathering (held after the end of the Fasting month at which people ask for mutual forgiveness) which is held at the college she approaches her former teacher, accompanied by her husband and pays him the customary respect. She uses K with honorifies, the code she used as a student. The former teacher responds in K and addresses her as /jeng/ to recognise her rise in status and honor her husband as well. He formerly used N plus her name with no title:

283. A: Pa?, dalem Haryani, murét penjenengan wonten èsèmpé.

Ngatóraken pangabekti dalem pa?.

Sir, I'm Haryani, your former student in high school.

My sincere respect to you, Sir.

B: Sami-sami jeng. O, jeng Basuki meniko jeng Haryani to? Mboten nginten pinanggéh maléh inggéh? (Turns to his wife in N) Bu iki lho, jeng Basuki ki jebulé murètku biyèn nèng èsèmpé.

Same to you, MA'AM. I didn't know that MRS. BASUKI and HARYANI are the same person. I never thought we would meet again, did you? (To his wife) Mum. you know, MRS. BASUKI turns out to be one of my former students in high school.

5.5. THE FUNCTION OF JAVANESE TO EXPRESS PERSONAL FEELINGS

As has been seen in many of the examples above, Javanese frequently express their personal feelings, opinions, afterthought or the like in

Javanese (particularly N) in their speech. This is clearly noticeable when they use any code other than N as the means of communication. In Javanese this device is called /ngudoroso/ (N) or /ngudoraos/ (K) '*reveal the feelings*'. /ngudoroso/ is normally directed to the speaker himself since it is more like when one were thinking aloud for oneself or talking to oneself, using the code that one is most familiar with. For example, the major's wife in quotation 282 above uses N Javanese when basically speaking Indonesian and the Javanese visitor at the urban /kelurahan/ uses N Javanese to express his surprise when basically speaking K Javanese with an official (see 247 in 5.2.1). In the following example, an educated young Javanese woman is talking with an educated young non-Javanese woman in Indonesian when she expresses her personal feeling in N Javanese:

284. Non-Jav.: Naé? apa?

How did you go there?

Javanese: Naé? bis mba? (I).

We went by bus.

Non-Jav.: Cepet skali ya?

Did the bus run very fast?

Javanese: Iya, dua jam dligitu-gitukan (I). Adhuh, dhuh, mbo?, nyang ati ki masa? Allah (J). Mba? Néng, athé? itu sópérnya itu masé? muda ya kan terlalu émósi to (I).

Yes, for two hours it rocked us. MY GOD, I WAS SO SCARED. You know, the driver was so young and so emotional.

In another example, a Javanese masseuse who is talking with an American woman in Indonesian uses ngudoroso in N Javanese:

285. American: Artinya apa?

What does it mean?

Masseuse: Artinya ya, uratnya modot, uratnya, non. Nanti éna? gini lho (I). É masi wong ngga? tau pijet ngasi kemlethek (J).

It means that the muscle becomes longer, miss. Like this, and it feels good. MY, EVEN A PERSON WHO HAS NEVER HAD A MASSAGE WILL FEEL GOOD.

5.6. CHOICE OF INDONESIAN AS A REFLECTION OF THE SPEAKER'S MOOD

In daily communication people normally show that they are at ease by speaking in their own mother tongue. However, certain individuals

often find it hard to do so for personal reasons, some strong emotional influence at a particular moment or the like which make them resort to using Indonesian.

5.6.1. CHOICE OF INDONESIAN FOR EMPHASIS

Indonesian is usually associated with formality, seriousness, unfamiliarity or the like, whereas the mother tongue is usually associated with informality, intimacy, ease and the like. Consequently, there are people who often prefer to use Indonesian when they want to talk something seriously particularly to people to whom they have the right to use Indonesian and another code. For example, the educated parents who speak N Javanese to their children and receive Indonesian from their younger children and KM or K from their older children (see 5.2.1.2) often use Indonesian when they are serious and want their message to be clearly understood. In the following excerpt, the mother from that same family tells the children to take some medicine in Indonesian, while the father gives comment in Javanese:

286. Mother: Ana?-ana? sampèy di rumah minóm óbat inl. Ya. Hari ya? Budi sudah minóm tadi, óbat bató??

You children should take this medicine as soon as you come home from school. Okay, Hari? Budi, did you take the cough medicine?

Budi: Belóm.
No.

Mother: Ha? Ayó minóm skarang.
What? Take it now.

Father: (To Budi in N) Dientè?ké sé? kuwi rotiné.
Eat the cake up first.

Mother: Hari sudah?
Have you taken yours, Hari?

Hari: Tadi siang sudah.
Yes, I took it this afternoon.

This way the mother feels sure the seriousness of her message gets across. She sounds very serious and strict, therefore her husband tries to make the situation less tense by making a comment in N Javanese directed at Budi who is eating some cake. Later, in a more relaxed way she switches into N:

287. Mother: Nè? ono montor ilwat bledugé akèh, irungé ditutupi.
Tutu?é mingkem, ojo mangap.

*When a car passes stirring up dust, you should cover
your nose and keep your mouth shut.*

Later, when she notices her older son teasing the younger brothers while they are studying, she warns him in Indonesian:

288. Mother: Ngga? bóiéh Suryo.

You are not supposed to do that, Suryo.

Suryo: (J) Lha ngga? cepet.

Well, they are too slow.

Mother: Suryo belajar di sana.

You go over there and study, Suryo.

Suryo: (I) Ngga? Suryo mau memberi makan kucing.

No, I'll feed the cat.

Suryo usually speaks K or KM with their parents, but after the mother's warning he is a bit irritated and later he refuses to study by finding some excuse in Indonesian.

5.6.2. CHOICE OF INDONESIAN TO AVOID JAVANESE SPEECH LEVELS

Among Javanese in East Java there are individuals who think that they are not able to speak good K Javanese (although perhaps they might well be able to do so). These people normally speak N to their equals and persons of lower status but communicate in Indonesian with people of higher status, although the latter may speak to them in N Javanese. This device is used because they feel embarrassed to speak in K while realising that N is not the proper level. For example, a laboratory technician at a university, a friendly young man, always speaks N with the students, the clerks, the janitors and other employees of the same or lower rank than himself, but always speaks Indonesian with the teachers, senior technicians and other employees higher in rank than himself. Here are some excerpts:

289. Teacher: (N) Aku titép tasku, bèn nang kéné yo Lép.

I'll leave my bag here with you, all right, lip?

Techn.: (I) Ya pa?. Nanti kaló? saya pergi saya masó?kan lemari.

*Sure, I'll ~~kit~~ it ot om tje drawer when I leave,
sir.*

Student: (To technician in N) Bukuné séng gaé latian ndhé?
ndi mas?

Where are the exercise books?

Techn.: (N) Lhó embóh. Mau ra? didelo?i ambè? arè?-arè? a?
*I don't know. The students were just looking
at them, weren't they?*

Techn.: (To janitor in N) Lèh, ngkó nè? aténé ditótóp
kantoré dipèl sé? yo?
*Leh, before closing the office, don't forget
to mop the floor, okay?*

There are Javanese and non-Javanese who feel embarrassed to use N under certain circumstances even though they are able to and have the right to do so. For example, a Javanese young man never uses N when chatting with his friends and acquaintances because there is a non-Javanese in the group with whom he never communicates in Javanese although the non-Javanese speaks and understands N Javanese and speaks N with other Javanese friends. Here are some examples:

290. Jav. A: Kaló teknik katanya pa? ini sebelah ini katanya
lima taón persis di Itébbé (I).
*I heard that Mr. um, what's his name, graduated
from Institute of Technology in Bandung after
studying there for exactly five years.*

Jav. B: Ga? pinter ga? nang perencanaan?an. Perencanaan?an ki
wong pinter tho? (N).
*Oh sure since he is a very bright man, otherwise
he wouldn't have been appointed a member of the
Planning Board. Only bright people are appointed
there.*

Non-Jav.: Ngga? bosen-bosen baca itu.
He must have never felt tired from reading.

Jav. B: Bosen sinau, lè? moco aé aku iso (N).
*Perhaps he is tired of studying but not reading
since I can stand reading myself.*

Non-Jav.: Lhó kita baca aja bosen lhó. Bayangkan aja, saya
baca ngga? niat ini.
*Even just reading can be boring too, you know.
Imagine that you were in my place, you would under-
stand how bored I am. I don't have the desire to
read anymore.*

Jav.A: Belajar itu juga? (I).

When you want to study you have to read too.

Only Javanese B speaks N in the conversation while the other interlocutors avoid it although they actually understand and speak N.

Many young teachers in East Java also prefer to speak Indonesian to their students who may be only a couple of years younger than the teachers, particularly when the role relationship does not go beyond the formal teacher-student relationship even in non-official situations. It is often embarrassing for them to speak N when the students speak K but it is also uncomfortable for them to use reciprocal K. Reciprocal N is generally used when they become good friends and this usage is the choice of the teachers because even though the two parties use N the teachers do not like their students to use plain N to them. To discourage the use of plain N to teachers (or elders when the teacher-student relationship has become that of friends) is actually much of the society's concern since one is not supposed to sound /nrunya?/ or /nraca?/ 'impolite' or 'impudent' when talking to elders. So the N must be that of the code used by educated adult Javanese intimates, i.e., with honorifics (cf. 1.3.1).

Reciprocal K, however, is often used by teachers and graduate students who mostly have been teachers or employees before they come back to school to do graduate work.

5.7. CHOICE OF INDONESIAN AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR A LOCAL LANGUAGE

People who speak Indonesian will automatically try to communicate in Indonesian with other people who have different mother tongues, although the addressees might not speak Indonesian. In the following example, a group of Javanese students try to bargain with a Madurese fruit vendor who speaks Madurese and very little Indonesian. She has to use Indonesian since it is the only language they have in common, substituting with Madurese items for unfamiliar Indonesian ones:

291. Vendor: Legi néka, legi (M).

These are all sweet.

Student: Brapa? (I)

How much?

Vendor: Semua ampat ratós (I), duélékór (M).

All for four hundred rupiahs. They are twenty-two in all.

Student: Nda? bisa kurang tu (I).

Cannot we get a little less?

Vendor: Engghéh, kórang dhé?, thithi?
Sure, a little.

In another example, a non-Javanese woman and her Javanese friend use Indonesian to communicate with a Javanese rural teenager who uses Javanese and Indonesian. The Javanese friend does not use Javanese because he knows that the boy understands and speaks a little Indonesian and also he wants to help his friend who knows little Javanese to understand the whole conversation:

292. Javanese: Adé?nya brapa? (I)
How many younger siblings do you have?

Boy: Lima (I).
Five.

Javanese: Kamu ko? nda? skólah? Nda? ingén skólah (I)?
Why don't you go to school? Don't you like it?

Boy: Janipón nggéh péngén
Actually I'd like to.

Non-Jav.: Skólah kan ngga? mbayar
School is free, isn't it?

Boy: Mbayar, lha urunanipón mniko (J)?
It's not. There are always contributions.

5.8. CHOICE OF DIFFERENT VARIETIES AMONG INTERLOCUTORS

When non-educated people have to communicate in Indonesian they have no other choice than to use non-standard Indonesian (the non-educated Javanese use NEJI, the non-educated Peranakans use PCI). Educated people on the other hand, when talking with non-educated interlocutors in Indonesian (SIEJ), colloquial Indonesian (EJI) or PCI (for educated Peranakans). According to the principles of tepo sliro, however, one should humble oneself in some way or other towards an addressee, i.e., the boss does not make himself sound too bossy when speaking with his inferior, the inferior shows deference and respect towards the boss, the educated interlocutor does not make himself sound too sophisticated when talking with an uneducated interlocutor and so on. Consequently, many educated interlocutors use colloquial Indonesian with a number of non-standard forms when talking with uneducated interlocutors, even though they still try to avoid the stigmatised forms in their speech (see also Chapter Three for non-standard forms). For example, a non-Javanese lady talks with a Javanese servant in Indonesian. She uses a number of -eC forms (see also 3.1.4), the Javanese N- in place of the

Indonesian meN- (see also 3.2.1.1) and Javanese loans, particularly those which have been employed by the servant as an indication of understanding, agreement or the like. In addition, she happens to know a little Javanese. Here are some examples (the non-standard forms are underlined):

293. Servant: Saya dateng itu Ibu? tidórá saja.
My mistress didn't wake up when I came home last night.

Lady: No ngga? dateng?
No didn't come here at all?

When talking about the servant's employer they say:

Lady: Ibu ko? sudah dandan mbo??
Why does she dress up so early?

Servant: Mau pigi, mulang.
She's going out, teaching.

Lady: Mulang di mana?
Where does she teach?

(The lady uses /dateng/ for /datang/ 'come', /dandan/ for /berdandan/ 'dress up', and Javanese /mulang/ for Indonesian /mengajar/ 'teach'.)

In another example, an educated Javanese uses a number of non-standard forms when talking with a salesman:

294. Javanese: Pasnya piro to?
How much is it, exactly?

Salesman: Pas diapan stengah. Kaló? sampéyan mau, miléh nomer dua juga? bisa. Ya?apa mas, jadiken?
I cannot give it to you for less than eight hundred and fifty rupiahs. You can get it a lot cheaper if you take the second quality material. How about it?

The educated customer uses /piro to/ for /berapa/ 'how much', while the salesman uses /ya?apa/ for /bagéymana/ 'How' or 'How about it' and /jadiken/ for /jadikan/ 'go through (a request inviting the customer to buy the merchandise)'. In another example some members of a student board, one Javanese and some Peranakan Chinese, are talking about their duty. The Javanese uses Javanese, EJI or a mixture of them, whereas the Peranakans use Javanese, PCI and a mixture of these two (the non-standard forms are underlined):

295. Peranakan A: E, sékretarisé ada wakilé (PCI).

Um, the secretary has an assistant.

Javanese: Ojo? diangkat, gaé opo lho dadè?no sékretarés ga? tau ngeték (J). Yang dituntót itu kan kerjanya, bukan jabatannya (I).
Don't appoint her as secretary if she never does her duty. What's the use? People actually should be ready to do their duties instead of being ready to accept a position.

Peranakan B: Ya betól. Jadi yang untó? mahaséswa lama ta? serahno yé yo (PCI).

That's right. So I'll let you deal with the old students, okay?

Peranakan A: Tapi daftaré ada?

But do you have the list of their names? (PCI)

The Peranakans use /-é/ for /-nya/ 'the, his, her, its', /ta?/ 'first person agent' in place of /saya/, /-no/ for /-kan/ '(transitiviser)', /yé/ for /kamu/ 'you' which is peculiar to educated Peranakans, and a Javanese loan /yo/ for /ya/ 'okay', 'yes'.

CHAPTER SIX

CHOICE OF LOAN WORDS AS A REFLECTION OF SOCIAL VALUES AND SOCIAL FACTORS

6.0. INTRODUCTION

In many of the examples above, we have seen that East Javanese people use a great number of loan words in their speech. These loan words may be of local or foreign origin, in their original forms or Indonesianised. In most cases the employment of these borrowings is also influenced by the social values and social factors we have been discussing. When communicating in Indonesian or any language other than Javanese, people in East Java, regardless of ethnicity, frequently employ Javanese loans which reflect East Javanese values and which do not have connotations and implications as the Javanese loans. On the other hand, ethnicity plays an important part in the choice of lexical items originating in the speaker's native language which appear in the non-native language he is using. The family background, education and social status of an interlocutor also determine the choice of loans. The identity of the interlocutors, the role relationships they are engaging in as well as the place and time of the interaction are all significant factors in this choice of borrowings.

In the following sections we are going to discuss various loan words which have been found in the data and relate their appearance to the social values and social factors in East Java, each with illustrations.

6.1. THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LOAN WORDS

Many loan words have been used constantly by most of the population for a very long time and have lost their foreign connotation (see 6.3.3). Many others, however, are used because they carry specific

social meanings. A group of people use Dutch borrowings as a sign of group identity (see 6.3.1), while another group uses English borrowings for a similar purpose (see 6.4.1). A large portion of the population use Dutch and English borrowings that refer to technical terms (see 6.3.3 and 6.4.3). Javanese and Old Javanese terms are also often borrowed for this purpose. Since these borrowings are usually acquired more or less according to the educational background of the users, they may also be termed learned loans, in contrast to intimate loans. The latter consist mostly of items taken from regional languages, particularly Javanese, to show intimacy informality, class solidarity and the like (see 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2). When talking with non-educated speakers, educated interlocutors also often employ non-standard forms and borrowings to indicate their feeling of *tepo sliro* as well as intimacy, particularly in unofficial situations (see 6.2.2.4).

Peranakan Chinese, as we have mentioned before, mostly speak N Javanese in addition to PCI. When they use PCI they often use Javanese loans which have different usages from those used by the Javanese. Similarly, non-Javanese residents of East Java also frequently employ Javanese loans in their speech which are not necessarily the commonly employed Javanese loans by the Javanese (see 6.2.2.1).

A member of East Javanese society may also employ a set of loans for emphasis, contrastive meanings, etc. (cf. Fishman's metaphorical switch, 1972), which is usually taken from his mother tongue or from any other language he knows very well when he is speaking a language other than his mother tongue.

In short, except for the use of loans which have lost their foreign connotation, and for those who use Javanese loans out of ignorance, people in East Java usually relate the use of borrowings in their speech to socially defined and understood meanings.

6.2. JAVANESE LOANS INTO INDONESIAN

Among all the loans that are borrowed into Indonesian as spoken in East Javanese loans are the largest in number and the most important ones in terms of usage. In the following sections we shall discuss the Javanese loans which are found in the data, and categorise them in terms of social values and social factors as well as for their significance for the members of East Javanese society who are also members of many different groups.

6.2.1. JAVANESE LOANS AS USED BY JAVANESE

Javanese have the tendency to use a great number of Javanese loans when they speak Indonesian. Part of this is out of ignorance of the

Indonesian terms (speakers who know Indonesian poorly fill in with Javanese forms because the structure of the two languages lends itself to this sort of influence, and it has been common in the Javanese sector of society to use certain Javanese loans in Indonesian even though they were originally not found in Indonesian spoken outside of the Javanese speech area). But this by no means accounts for all or even the largest portion of the Javanese forms which are found in the Indonesian of East Java. To a large extent other factors influence the adoption of Javanese loan words: first, the need to express Javanese values or the need to create intimacy and in-group feelings in situations which require the use of Indonesian.

6.2.1.1. Javanese Loans Reflecting Javanese Values

The existence of Javanese loan words into Indonesian in many cases can be explained in terms of values which are regarded and followed by the members of East Javanese society. This usage is more frequently found in unofficial situations and in informal situations (see also 1.4), although certain Javanese loans are constantly used in formal situations also.

According to the principle of *toto kromo* in Javanese the interlocutors should use honorific terms (KI) and terms denoting deference (KA) to honour and respect the honoured addressee and referee (see also 1.3.1). This principle is frequently transferred into Indonesian by using Indonesianised KI or KA terms in their speech. For example, a master of ceremony may welcome the audience or the guests by saying /kami menghatoꝛkan selamat datang/ 'Welcome (to the meeting, show, party, etc.)', instead of /kami mengucapkan selamat datang/. In this case /menghatoꝛkan/ is the Indonesianised KA /ngatoꝛaken/ 'to say'. To the user /menghatoꝛkan/ is considered more polite than the Indonesian /mengucapkan/ because the latter does not convey the deference implied in the former. In another example, an employee uses a KI form to refer to her older colleague's child:

296. Ini gimana putranya (standard: *ana?nya*) pa? Darno ko? begini.
I cannot understand why Mr. Darno's CHILD is like this.

/putra/ 'child, son' and /menghatoꝛkan/ 'to say, to tell, to report' are two of the most frequently used Indonesianised KI and KA in almost any situations.

An example of a Javanese loan used in an unofficial situation is found in the speech of the wife of a university teacher who is chatting with her colleagues:

297. Kalow doꝛsèn-dóꝛsèn yang sepóh (Indonesian: *tua*) siapa?
As for the teachers, which ones are OLD?

The Indonesian /tua/ 'old' which has been avoided by the speaker resembles the N Javanese /tuwo/ 'old'.

In another example, an army captain who is talking to a colonel's daughter refers to the colonel by using a KA:

298. Matórnnya sama bapa? sama dengan yang dikemukakan di sekolah apa tida??

Did you TELL your father the same thing you had told people at school?

The speaker uses the KA /matór/ 'tell' to imply his respect towards the referee which cannot be indicated by using the colloquial Indonesian term /bilang/ 'say' or 'tell' or the standard /mengatakan/.

In addition to the use of KI and KA (original or Indonesianised) into Indonesian there are also other loans originating in Javanese which reflect certain values. For example, members of East Javanese society are expected to behave in certain ways vis-à-vis others (warm, kind, not meddling). For all of these sorts of behaviour there are Javanese terms which describe them and these terms do not have Indonesian equivalents. Or, when there are Indonesian equivalents available, the Indonesian terms frequently do not have the connotations and implications that these Javanese terms have. Such terms are also frequently used in comments, censures or sanctions (see also 2.4). In the following example, a servant gives an unfavourable comment on a neighbour:

299. Yang rambót panjang itu èlè? ati itu. So? ngrusuhi rumah tanggaé orang.

The one with long hair is DISHONEST AND UNTRUSTWORTHY. She likes to MEDDLE in other people's household.

The Indonesian equivalent /jahat/ 'wicked' does not have the connotations of the Javanese loan /èlè? ati/ 'wicked, dishonest, untrustworthy, etc.' The Javanese loan /ngrusuhi/ 'meddle in' when used in the context of 'other people's home' (/rumah tangga órang/) has implications of upsetting order (toto tentrem) which the Indonesian equivalent would not carry.

In another example, the same servant gives a favourable comment on another neighbour:

300. Ya, Ani? itu manis sama anu, grapya?.

Yes, Ani is cute and, um, she DEALS WITH OTHERS IN A FRIENDLY WAY.

The loan /grapya?/ 'talk nicely a great deal' also implies 'deal with others in proper manners and attitude as manifested in choice of code, speech levels, tone, content, etc.' The Indonesian equivalents such as

/banya? omong/ 'talkative' or /ramah/ 'friendly, kind' do not carry these connotations.

Another positive value which is well regarded in society is honesty and frankness (even though this value does not necessarily conflict with the value of tactfulness and indirection). One who lacks such quality frequently becomes the object of criticism. For example, an army captain describes an elusive teenage girl:

301. Meliat ana?nya saja kan mbulet. Tip begitu itu anu sekali, sukar diduga.

Considering the child, she is DISHONEST, ELUSIVE AND ALWAYS AVOIDS DIRECT RESPONSES. Such type of person is, what do you call it, difficult to understand.

Indonesian terms which refer to values analogous to Javanese terms do not have the same connotations and implications and thus Javanese, in talking about values, have the tendency to use Javanese loans to refer to them when they speak Indonesian. In the following example, a college student refers to his uncle as a basa paman 'uncle with whom one uses boso (high speech level)':

302. Ada keluarga saya yang maséh basa paman, skarang di doktorai.

There is a relative of mine a DISTANT uncle who is now studying at the graduate school.

The Indonesian /basa/ which derives from the Javanese /boso/ is used to imply a relative to whom one must show boso behaviour, i.e., the choice of boso or the Kromo level by the nephew and other signs of deference (see also basan-basanan (which comes from the same root boso) in 4.2.2.2). An Indonesian equivalent would not indicate the significant family tie with its rights and obligations. Often, we find long circumlocutions when the speaker feels that the interlocutors would not understand the Javanese phrase. It is significant that speakers feel impelled to make explicit forms which made reference to these modes of behaviour.

6.2.1.2. Javanese Loans to Create Intimacy in Official Situations

In official situations where the choice of Indonesian is called for Javanese frequently try to reduce the stiffness and formality of such situations by using TA and PR normally employed in unofficial situations (see Tables 7, 8 and 9 and the related discussions) and by using Javanese loans in their speech. These usages draw the interlocutors closer to one another and make them feel that they are not just fellow employees or participants at an official meeting or the like but that they are also friends and persons who know one another well. Among colleagues

and employees of approximately the same rank the use of Javanese loans is evenly distributed among the participants because they do not feel sungkan with one another. For example, a group of high school teachers at an informal meeting who are talking about their students show this tendency, i.e., each participant feels at ease to use Javanese loans:

303. A: Ya?apa ya pa?, sebetólnya ya kasihan. Sikap ana?-ana? sebenarnya ya nda? seneng sama dia.
WHAT CAN WE DO? Actually we pity her because the other students ALSO dislike her.
- B: Dengan sendirinya wong ana?-ana? itu hubungan langsung tiap hari.
Sure, SINCE they are in daily contact with her.
- C: Siapa bu, yang putih yang jèjèr telu, bangku ke dua dari depan?
Who is that light-skinned girl who sits on a bench with two others in the second row from the front?

In an official situation where the participants are of different ranks or social statuses, normally the person with the highest rank is the one who has the most freedom to use as many Javanese loans to initiate a feeling of intimacy, while persons of lower rank or social status usually must limit their use of Javanese loan words to forms such as deference vocabulary (KA and KI) which show their sungkan feelings. For example, a district head who presides over an official meeting and suggests that the meeting be conducted informally (quoted in 178, in 4.2.3) uses a large number of Javanese loans in his entire speech including those which have good Indonesian equivalents. In the following example which is meant as a statement to evoke laughter, the speaker uses forms which have perfectly good Indonesian equivalents, e.g., /blangknan/ for Indonesian /memakèy blangkón/ 'wear a head called blangkón', /semongko/ for /semangka/ 'watermelon' or a filler /opo jenengé/ 'what do you call it' for /apa namanya/:

304. Mas Slamet tetangga saya menerima tamu général mayór angkatan udara Blanda, bersama-sama makan, opo jenengé, lempèr, di tengah-tengah sawah.
Slamet, my neighbour, treated a visitor, a Royal Dutch Air Force major general, to some, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT, LEMPER in the middle of a rice field.

He also uses Javanese slang such as /semrawut/ for colloquial Indonesian /acakacakan/ 'in jeopardy'. All of these show that he is very informal,

very much like when he is talking outside the meeting with all his intimate friends and inferiors.

In contrast with this usage the second speaker who is next highest in rank shows his intimacy towards the other participants but since he must show his lower status compared to the first speaker, he limits his loan words and joke. He shows intimacy with those below him by using the district head's name /pa? wégnyo/ 'Mr. Wegnyo' when referring to him instead of using his /pa? bupati/ 'Mr. Regent' (cf. 204 and 205 in 4.3.2), and by using necessary Javanese loans which refer to values, e.g., /nguthé? uthé?/ 'give a nudge which might disrupt toto tentrem', /nèthèl/ 'to clean carefully by chipping away clinging dirt', using loans which reflect Javanese values, e.g., /ngrusuh! dólor/ 'bother one's relative'. In the following example he quotes his superior's (the first speaker's) words in Javanese as an implied compliment to the referee (i.e., the referee is kindhearted and ready to give in to his inferiors):

305. Laén halnya sama di sini. Misalnya untó? mellhat ke Ramayana Prambanan, "Yo wés budhalo" kata pa? Wegnyo.
It's usually quite different from what happens here. Suppose an employee asks MR. WIGNYO permission to see the Ramayana performance in Prambanan, he would readily say, "SURE, GO AHEAD".

The master of ceremony of the meeting, here a white collar worker, is below the two speakers in rank and although he might wish to create an air of intimacy, the feeling of sungkan overrides and he uses no Javanese loans. Another example of this tendency of not using Javanese loans to show sungkan feeling is found in the case of a youths' representative at a neighbourhood meeting attended by the neighbourhood head and the elders. On the other hand, the neighbourhood head uses a number of loans with ease including /ngombroombro/ for Indonesian /bertéltélté/ 'talk nonsense', /rampóng gawé/ for /selesey peker jaan/ 'finish the job', /gamblang/ for /jelas/ 'clear' and so forth.

Since Javanese is associated with informality and intimacy the use of Javanese loans in an official situation which is normally practised by a person of high status always gives the participants in such a situation a feeling of intimacy and informality even though the speaker does not explicitly invite the participants to feel so. For example, at a reception to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Indonesian Journalists' association, the atmosphere was very formal. First, the speech made by the chairman of the local association (quoted in 200, in 4.3.2) contains no Javanese loan, second, the seriousness of the audience, and finally the total silence of the audience. However, as

soon as the assistant governor, the person with the highest rank, makes his congratulatory speech the atmosphere becomes more relaxed and less formal: the audience whispers and laughs and seems to be enjoying the affair. The content of the speech is certainly not humorous or interesting. But we note a large number of Javanese loans and Javanese pronunciations. The effect is humorous and intimate and the audience responds appropriately. In the following excerpt he compares the duty of the administrators with *sambel* 'red pepper sauce', the usual accompaniment to meals in East Java:

306. Seperti sambel (Ind: sambal), ada lombo?nya (Ind: cabé) ada trasinya. Memang juga? ada garejanya (Ind: garam), tapi kalau? sudah menjadi sambel rasanya pedhes (Ind: pedas) sudan laén pedhesnya lombo?, rasanya asén sudah laén asénnya garem. Demikianlah pula gambaran pemréntahan (Ind: pemerintahan) dalam arti yang luas ini.

It's like RED PEPPER SAUCE which contains RED PEPPER and shrimp paste. It's true that it contains SALT too but when it has become SAMBAL the HOT TASTE is different from that of RED PEPPER and the salty taste is different from that of ordinary SALT. The government in its wider sense is analogous to this.

In official situations, thus, it is actually the participants of high rank who have the right to establish the kind of atmosphere and relationship during the interaction and communication. Leaders and persons of high status who know a great deal about the principle of *tepo sliro* will always try to make the official situation under their control less tense, more interesting and less formal, except when the occasion calls for formal behaviour as in reading a decree, performing certain ceremonies, installing an official in his new post and the like where the speaker has to use standard Indonesian, formal TA and PR and so forth (see also quotations 216 and 217 in 4.5.1).

6.2.1.3. Javanese Loans to Create Intimacy in Unofficial Situations

In unofficial situations in East Java people tend to use more Javanese loans in their speech to make the relationship of the interlocutors more intimate and the atmosphere during the interaction more relaxed and friendlier as well. This device is used particularly in cases where the interlocutors use Indonesian to avoid Javanese speech levels or when a non-Javanese speaker is among the interlocutors. For example, two Javanese women who share an apartment entertain a non-Javanese female friend in their apartment. The two Javanese (J) use a large

number if Javanese loans while the non-Javanese (NJ) use as many Javanese loans as she knows:

307. NJ: Kalow Jum?at pulang jam brapa?
What time do you usually come home on Fridays?
- J: Jam piro yo aku yo (laughter)? Habés absèn pulang mba?
UM, LET ME SEE. WHAT TIME DO I USUALLY COME BACK?
Well, usually after the role call, sis.
- NJ: Em, éna?é.
Um, how nice.
- J: Poko?nya nda? ada acara di sana, pulang aé daripada crito-crito. Nanti guyon-guyon malah . . . (laughter). Tadi mau tidór nda? bisa tidór, ndada? ono panganan.
Basically, if there isn't an assembly I go home because I don't care to JUST hang around and TALK. Besides, too much TEASING might be . . . (laughter). I wanted to take a nap when I got home but I couldn't and it was a good thing because then I was able to enjoy THE UNEXPECTED SNACKS (you sent).
- NJ: Panganan ana? kecil itu.
They were just SNACKS for kids (not the fancy and expensive kinds).

Another example from the speech of three Javanese acquaintances who run into one another in a sports meet and chat:

308. A: Di kleb ini sudah ngga? ada mangkel ya?
People don't GET HARD FEELINGS with each other in this club, do they?
- B: Ó, kaló? yang mangkel ya keluar seperti itu yang gemu? skali seperti Muhammad Ali itu. Nda? betah itu.
Oh, anybody who GETS HARD FEELINGS is going to have to quit, just like the fat boy that looks like Muhammad Ali. He quit because he COULDN'T TAKE it.
- C: Sebabnya ya ini.
Actually this guy here is to blame.
- B: O, bukan pa?. Harsono itu dulu kaló? tida? seréng diguyoni gitu keluar lhó dia. Nda? betah. Wadón jeneng kupéng ki wés.
Oh, not at all. Like Harsono, if we didn't TEASE him a lot he might have quit because he COULDN'T TAKE IT. YOU HAVE TO BE THICK-SKINNED to be a member here, don't you.

A: Itu pa? Trés itu meneng aja.

Why does Tris over there keep QUIET?

C: Sapa? O, pa? Kancel. Tapi itu kaló? sudah mulai gila, ya sudah. Seniman to?

WHO? Oh, Tres the Mousedeer. He is capable of doing crazy things, YOU KNOW, SINCE HE IS AN ARTIST.

Ordinarily, in unofficial situations there is always an interlocutor who feels more comfortable using Javanese loans than the others. He may be the highest in rank or an equal who has the greatest sense of humour as represented by (B) in 308 above.

6.2.1.4. Javanese Loans for Connotations of Emphasis, Dignity or to Give a Connotation of the Way One Regards the World

Javanese loans can add emphasis or dignity. Often in official or unofficial situations Javanese use terms which more clearly express the dignity, emphasis, or importance of the matter referred to than the Indonesian equivalents. For example, the assistant governor who makes the congratulatory speech above (see quotation 306) uses Javanese loans which he believes to be more appropriate for the occasion and which will mark the particular occasion as an important social event, not just an anniversary of an association:

309. Oléh karena itu dalam rangka panengeran (Ind: menandai) dan panegesan (Ind: memberi arti) pada jangkep (Ind: genap) tigapuluh taón usia Péwé?i ini, disampéng kita merasa bahagia dan bangga, timból pula harapan-harapan.
Therefore, in COMMEMORATING and MARKING the FULFILLMENT of the thirtieth anniversary of the Association of Indonesian Reporters, we not only feel proud and happy, but also have hopes for the future.

The term /panengeran/ in Javanese is frequently used in the context of naming a newly born baby in a ceremony whereas the Indonesian /menandai/ is used to mean 'to mark' in general. Thus this term implies a 'ceremony' which is an important event. The term /panegesan/ again is employed to mean 'giving something meaningful to others (here society)' and thus is more indicative than the Indonesian /memberi arti/ 'give meaning (good or bad)'. Again Javanese /jangkep/ and the Indonesian /genap/ both mean 'full, complete, reach the age of', but the Javanese also implies 'reaching the age to do something worthwhile' and so, by employing the Javanese term the speaker also implies or hints that the thirty years is considered enough for the association to have done something worthwhile and meaningful for society, and so forth.

Sometimes the Javanese loans express a world view or a set of values which the Indonesian equivalents do not connote. For example, a neighbourhood head (Ketua Rukón Kampóng) conducting a meeting says:

310. Saya rasa kalow sudah dibatesi atow digarésbawahi itu kaló? pemuda melaksanakan sbagèy pimpinan maupón pelaksana ini saya rasa tida? bisa nganu tida? bisa tergiwar.
I think after we give the youths some direction and limitation to what they should do as organisers or as executives they won't GET OFF THE TRACK OF THE PLAN.

The Javanese term /tergiwar/ 'swerve away from the main road' gives the connotation of uncontrolled activity whereas the Indonesian equivalent /tersesat/ simply means 'go astray'. He then implies that the youths need direction since they will act in a chaotic, uncontrolled (i.e., for Javanese 'bad') manner.

In the following example Javanese loans are used to create an atmosphere of intimacy (as in 6.2.1.3 above) and also to express connotations which the Indonesian equivalents fail to convey:

311. A: Ya bawa? spéda wong punya ko?. Kan ólah raga tu penténg.
Why don't you go by bike SINCE you have one. Besides, physical exercise is important you know.
 B: Ólah raga ya ólah raga, tapi lebéh baé? jalan kaki yang dekat gitu saja. Untó? ólah raga terlalu anu itu, ngoyo itu.
SURE, I need exercise, but I'd rather walk a short distance than go to work by bike every day. It's TOO MUCH EXERTION.

he term /ngoyo/ means 'doing something beyond one's ability or strength' or 'undertaking more than one has the right to undertake'. Indonesian equivalents would simply mean 'undertaking something difficult', so that the implication that this is immodest or bad is not conveyed.¹

6.2.1.5. Employment of Javanese Loans out of Ignorance

Javanese speakers readily use Javanese loans when they do not know the Indonesian equivalent. This usage is possible because the grammatical structure of Indonesian as used in East Java is very close to that of Javanese. These loans do not necessarily reflect intimacy as do

¹If a Javanese says "Aku ora ngoyo" (I don't exert myself) this is taken as something good: he is honest, andhap asor, and keeps in harmony by not pushing. The same statement in English would be taken negatively.

those discussed above (see 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.1.3). So in this case, the speaker normally uses these loans in his ordinary tone, unaccompanied by smiles, friendly gestures or the like. This usage is particularly common among uneducated speakers. For example, a Javanese masseuse (M) talks with her client (C), a non-Javanese, using loans out of ignorance:

312. M: Ajar kenal sdikit aja ya non? Kaló? sudah seréng yang gemet. Ngerti gemet?
AT THE START you just get a light massage, right, ma'am?
Later when you get used to it, it should be more GEMET (thorough). Do you know what GEMET is?

C: Enda?
 No.

- M: Gemet itu semua sama. Kaló? belóm pernah, njarem kaló? lama-lama.
It means THOROUGH MASSAGE. If you've never done it, it's PAINFUL if you get a long massage.

Another example from the speech of a vendor:

313. Tapi kaló? lama, satu taón gitu saja klérnya maléh (Ind: berubah).
But after a while, say one year, the colour FADES.

In the following example a servant (S) uses Javanese loans out of ignorance when talking with a lady (L):

314. L: Céncénnya ko? ngga? ada lagi?
How come you don't wear your ring any more?
 S: Dicopot (Ind: dilepas). Masa? kerja paké? céncén, kan nanti sudo (Ind: berkurang) emasnya.
I TOOK IT OFF. You cannot do the household chores with a ring on your finger if you don't want the gold to wear off.

An example from the speech of a bus driver:

315. Témpó-témpó ya ada yang dari jurusan Dampét mubeng (Ind: berputar ke) Gondanglegi.
Sometimes there are jitneys which TAKE A ROUND-ABOUT TRIP from Dampet to Gondanglegi.

An example from the speech of an eleven-year-old boy who is telling a friend about the accident he suffered:

316. Itu lho naé? spéda goncengan (Ind: membonceng). Di situ diberi kanthong (Ind: kantong) beras. Saya naé? di situ. Ada jeglong (Ind: lobang) itu saya jatóh, ceklè? (for patah).
I was riding DOUBLE. I rode on the back with a SACK of rice. Then there was a hole in the road. I fell off the bike and BROKE MY LEG.

An example from the speech of a janitor:

317. O, ini hanya mau disapót tho? (Ind: dikapor saja) ko?.
Oh, it's just going to be WHITE WASHED, NOTHING MORE, you know.

A speaker who forgets an Indonesian term at the moment of speaking usually stops or stammers while groping for the Indonesian term, substituting with a Javanese term, then later may come up with the desired word. In the following example, a college student while chatting with her friends forgets the Indonesian term for 'climb':

318. Kami tadi ini kan mau anu, mba?, mènè?. Sudah may mènè? ini. Kami sudah biasa ko? naé? di situ.
Actually we wanted to, um, mènè? (CLIMB), you know. She was ready to mènè? (CLIMB). We get used to CLIMBING (naé?) over there.

She uses a filler /anu/ while trying to remember the Indonesian word /naé?/ and substitutes with the Javanese /mènè?/ for it until she finally finds the Indonesian term.

Educated people when talking with non-educated interlocutors often use non-standard forms, including Javanese loans, which have been used by the non-educated interlocutors. This is in line with the principle of tepo sliro, i.e., one should try not to sound too sophisticated when talking with an uneducated interlocutor. This effort is frequently also interpreted as a friendly gesture from the part of the educated ones. However, they still avoid the stigmatised ones (see also 3.2.1). In the following example, a lady (L) uses non-standard forms which have been used by her interlocutor, a servant (S):

319. S: Kaló? nda? jalan saya nda? bisa beli jajan.
If I don't go out to earn money, I cannot buy SNACKS.
 L: Em, moso? njajan?
You mean you buy yourself snacks!
 S: Nda? bisa beli kuwé-kuwé buat putu.
I mean I can't buy snacks for my GRANDCHILDREN.

- L: Putu aja ada bapa?nya sendiri ko?.
*But your GRANDCHILDREN, they have their own father
 (to buy things for them).*

Another example from the speech of an educated Javanese customer (C) when talking with a Javanese salesman (S) who is using NEJI:

320. S: Ini ya, kaló? mau békén mójór (Ind: membujur) ya kira-kira dua mèter pa?, tapo nè? (Ind: kalow) malang (Ind: melintang), nè? panjang ini cókóp, panjang satu setengah ya cókóp.

Sir, if you want to make a pair of pants LENGTHWISE, you need two metres of this material, but IF CROSSWISE is okay with you, that is, IF the width of this material is enough for the length of the pants, you need only one and a half metres.

- C: Lalu malang jadinya?
Then the texture will be CROSSWISE on the pants?

6.2.2. JAVANESE LOANS AS USED BY NON-JAVANESE AND PERANAKANS

The motives which lead to the use of Javanese loan words by Javanese also spread to non-Javanese and the Peranakan Chinese sector of the population, except, of course, the adoption of Javanese loans which arises from having greater familiarity with Javanese than Indonesian as described in Section 6.2.1.5 above. For one thing, as we stated in Section 6.0, the Javanese values described in Chapter Two have spread throughout East Java, and to some extent these forms came into the Indonesian spoken by non-Javanese and Peranakans through the same motivations as those described in 6.2.1.1. For example, in a discussion about Javanese values a non-Javanese (NJ) resident of East Java uses Javanese terms to refer to them as exemplified in the following:

321. NJ: Apa arti kerukunan itu? Apa sama-sama ke mana saja Saya nda? suka? kalow rumah tangga saya yang rukón itu tenang, ayem, nda? punya dinamika. Rukón itu apa si?
What does RUKON-ness mean? Does it mean to go everywhere together? I wouldn't want my household to be RUKON if it means peaceful, CALM, you know, lacking any sort of dynamism. What is RUKON anyway?

- J: Kaló? dikluarga saya artinya kerukunan itu antara satu dan laén itu menghormati pendapatnya maséng-maséng.
In my family RUKON-ness means that the members of the family respect one another's opinions.

When talking about a pretty girl according to Javanese values the non-Javanese above also uses Javanese terms:

322. NJ: Itu asli. Dia hanya biasa saja tapi menaré? sekali
Everything about her is natural, but she is really attractive. (This was pronounced with a Javanese intonation contour to emphasise menaré? 'attractive'.)

J: Tanpa mékap ya?
Without wearing any make-up?

NJ: Tanpa mékap dan kita sudah kewalahan itu. Langsepnnya langsep betól.
Without any make-up, and she really TURNS ME ON. Her BEAUTIFUL FAIR SKIN is really BEAUTIFUL AND FAIR.

The speaker uses the Javanese term /kewalahan/ 'beyond one's control' in the context when he means that her beauty is 'beyond description', 'outstanding', etc. He also uses the Javanese expression /langsep/ short for /kuning langsep/ to replace the Indonesian /kuning langsung/, a metaphor used to describe a beautiful fair skin which is as fair and smooth as the langsep (fruit which has soft yellow peel).

6.2.2.1. Javanese Loans to Give Connotation as Used by Non-Javanese and Peranakans

Non-Javanese and Peranakans also frequently use Javanese loans for a connotation or to express values which are commonly used by Javanese. In the following example two Peranakan acquaintances use such a loan in their speech:

323. A: Kaló? keluarga sendiri ya séf, njalanken nda? galugalan.
If the driver is one of your own relatives, it's safe since he won't be RECKLESS.

B: Nda? galugalan. Tapiné nè? arè?é galugalan ta? bilangi.
No, he won't, but if he tends to be so I'll remind him.

The Javanese term /galugalan/ short for /ugaiugalan/ 'careless, reckless and impolite' does not have an equivalent in Indonesian which carries the Javanese implications and connotations. It is frequently borrowed into Indonesian to refer to an irresponsible and careless person who does not follow the prescribed toto kromo in doing something. In the following example a non-Javanese Moslem priest uses similar loans in his preaching:

324. Dimana di tengah-tengah suasana yang hangat ini orang sudah mempópulerkan kerusakan-kerusakan dan kebejatan-kebejatan, dimana orang memrèthèli atow merusa? nilèy-nilèy yang tinggi, nilèy-nilèy kemulya?an.

Where in such a difficult situation people popularise destruction and IMMORALITIES and where people TEAR APART or destroy holy norms and values.

The Javanese root /bejat/ 'broken, ruined, destroyed' refers to morality while its Indonesian equivalent /rusa?/ 'broken' refers to a more general notion. In addition, the Javanese term also implies the irreparable nature of the destruction. The Javanese term /mrèthèli/ used in this context is more appropriate than the Indonesian /merusa?/ 'to break' because the Javanese term implies 'to tear apart bit by bit but thoroughly' which is in accordance with the belief that a virtue turns into a vice gradually, bit by bit. The speaker later also uses similar loans for similar purposes, including /bobro?/ 'dilapidated (used figuratively)', /èmbèl-èmbèl/ 'a valueless added thing'. /lumrah/ 'common', /pamréh/ 'secret goal', etc. Although the speaker's speech is replete with Javanese loans of this sort, it sounds formal and not intimate.

Another example taken from the speech of a Peranakan:

325. Satu rumah itu kómplét, taci?é ngópya?i orang gi gréja, ngópya?i semua.

The wife REMINDS AND URGES everybody in the house to go to church.

In Javanese the term /ngópya?i/ 'urge, invite strongly' or 'persuade' has a very emphatic meaning because literally it means 'to scare the birds away from the rice field by shouting and beating bamboo drums intermittently'. The loan in the context implies that the wife does not stop urging and persuading people until everybody in the house goes to church. It also implies that she has the right to do so, otherwise the term /mekso/ (J) or /memaksa/ (I) 'to force' is used.

Many non-Javanese and Peranakans also employ ordinary Javanese terms for an emphasis or contrast, i.e., terms which for Javanese do not show an emphatic or a contrastive meaning. For example, a non-Javanese graduate student uses an ordinary Javanese term /èlè?/ 'bad' to replace the Indonesian /jelèk/ 'bad' to obtain the emphatic meaning 'awful':

326. Hambatannya itu bukan mengurangnya benda. Mé mang polesé dari departemèn itu yang èlè? skali.

The obstacle is not because of lack of materials but actually because of the policy of the department which is really AWFUL.

For emphasis in such a context Javanese most likely would use slang such as /nggómbal/ 'Like rags', or /mbépó?/ 'very low in quality', etc., instead of the ordinary term /èlè?/ 'bad'.

Very often non-Javanese and Peranakans also use terms which are avoided by Javanese for certain reasons. The latter often use a different device for the same effect. For example, an elderly Peranakan woman uses the Javanese loan /bongko/ 'stiff dead' for emphasis whereas the Javanese would most likely use /matè?/, a euphemised term for /mati/ 'dead' in the same context:

327. Mother: Lu bo? galugalan lhó ya ema? nda? mau galugalan
Don't drive recklessly. I don't like it.

Son: Ngga?, ngga? ma?, cé? takuté.
Don't worry, Mom. Don't be so scared.

Mother: Nda? takót, nè? lu satu kali masó? ndé? nggoné
 Jatiroto itu bongko kabèh.
*I'm not scared but you only have to fall into the
 ravine near Jatiroto once to turn us into CORPSES.*

In Javanese /bongko/ 'dead' is considered a very coarse term which is only used to refer to animals or enemies but never to members of the speaker's family.

6.2.2.2. Javanese Loans to Show Intimacy Among Peranakans and Non-Javanese

Non-Javanese and Peranakans also use Javanese loans to create intimacy, namely by using forms which can be employed among intimates in very informal and unofficial situations only (see for example /sa?-/ in 3.2.1.7 and /wong/ in 3.2.4), or other Javanese terms which will bring the interlocutors closer to one another. These devices have to be used, particularly by non-Javanese who do not speak Javanese (see also 5.1). For example, a non-Javanese young man who chats with his Javanese friends uses such terms:

328. NJ: Lambat atow cepat asal empat taón, séng orang terpaksa
 dibawa arós kesana-kemari
*Whether you are bright or slow you've got to take
 four years WHICH confuses people.*

J: Kenapa dékan yang baru ko? ngga? membuat perubahan
 yang drastis?
Why doesn't the new dean make a thorough-going change?

NJ: Sekarang ada teman kami seórang yang akan maju tiga taón
 Itu karna hasél ngotot yang maséh belóm resmi.

Well, now, one of our classmates is going to take his final exam after only three years. But that is the result of the RELENTLESS EFFORTS on our part, and they're not necessarily going to adopt that.

In Javanese the term /ngotot/ is used to refer to a heated argument in which neither one of the two parties is willing to give in. The non-Javanese casually and intimately also uses the form /séng/ (see the discussion in 3.2.4).

Another example is taken from a conversation between a non-Javanese woman (NJ) and her two Javanese friends (JA and JB):

329. JA: Ini tadi sudah mau naé?, akhérya mba? Yus kluar.
We were just about to climb up (to pick that fruit) when you appeared.

NJ: Kebeneran kan (Ind: beruntung). Kalo? saya ngga? brani tinggi begitu.
WHAT A STROKE OF LUCK. I wouldn't dare climb that high.

JB: Itu anu mba?, harós diimbu dulu (Ind: diperam).
But you have to let the fruit RIPEN first.

JA: Mba?, aga? sini, situ panas mba?.
Move over here in the shade. It's too sunny over there.

NJ: Wong saya tadi kedinginan, gimana kaló? kepanasan.
WELL, it was CHILLY just now, so I thought I'd try to get TOO MUCH SUN.

The non-Javanese shows her intimacy and casualness by using Javanese forms (see ke- -en in 3.2.1.6 and wong in 3.2.4), partly because she only has a passive command of Javanese. On the other hand, both the Javanese not only use a large number of Javanese loans throughout the conversation, but also frequently switch into Javanese when speaking directly to each other because that is the normal code for two Javanese friends and also because they know that the non-Javanese friend can understand. An example of this:

330. JA: Tapi sana banya? pegunungan, jadi kadang-kadang juga? dingin skali.
But there are lots of mountains there and so the weather sometimes really gets cold.

NJ: He?eh ya?
Really?

JA: Angénny yang menyebabkan. Poko?nya di daérah Kediri itu mba? mémangnya terkenal banya? angénny.

It's the wind that makes it cold. Basically, Kediri is known as a windy region.

JA: (Turning to JB in N) *Ismu iku lho nang ganjó? masó? angén, dikero?i dé? Son, bareng muléh nyónyahé eróh: "Iki dudu kero?an ku iki".*

Ismu, you know, once went to Nganjuk and caught a cold. Son gave him a rub and when he returned home his wife noticed it and said, "I wonder who GAVE YOU A RUB".

NJ: *Kenai ya, kero?annya órang laén? She recognised that somebody else had GIVEN HIM A RUB, didn't she?*¹

6.2.3. JAVANESE LOANS AS TECHNICAL TERMS

In East Java when people speak Indonesian they frequently employ Javanese loans to provide for the need of certain terms which are lacking in Indonesian because the concepts are purely Javanese (assimilated loans) as well as Javanese loans to provide for the specific concepts that belong to a more general concept already in existence in Indonesian (partially assimilated laons).

A number of such loans have been used in official as well as unofficial situations only. Further, such terms are found in almost all walks of life and fields of interest. In the following sections we shall present a number of such terms which appear in the data.

6.2.3.1. Assimilated Loans

A number of assimilated loans are taken from a special vocabulary used in a certain occupation held by Javanese, particularly because such an occupation is very closely related to Javanese culture. For example, there is a profession called /sindhèn/ which means to sing songs in the Javanese musical scale, from which the holder of the profession may be called /sindhén/ or /pesindhèn/. The musicians who accompany her play a set of musical instruments called /gamelan/. The conductor of a gamelan concert is the musician who plays the /kendhang/ 'drum' and is often accompanied by male singers called /gerong/ or /penggerong/. There are a large number of technical terms used in this area of Javanese art which have to be borrowed into Indonesian when people are talking

¹ In Java a treatment for a cold is the kero?an by which the patient's body is rubbed with a coin smeared in coconut oil. The trace of the coin appears as dark red stripes on the skin. The pattern which these stripes leaves can give away who did the rub.

about this art using Indonesian pronunciation and morphology (e.g., /sindhèn/ becomes /sindén/ /pengendhang/ becomes /pengendang/, etc.).

In East Java live gamelan concerts still frequently accompany traditional Javanese ceremonies such as a wedding, a circumcision or the like, and certain official ceremonies as well such as installations, celebrations, the honoring of foreign delegations and the like.

In the following example a retired sindèn (S) tells about her experience to a friend (F):

331. F: Suaranya biar bagus dikasi? apa?

What did you do to make your voice beautiful?

S: Digórah. Itu lombo? rawét sama jahé digodhog trós diinóm.
I had to DRINK SOME POTION containing BOILED RED PEPPER and ginger.

The term /digórah/ (J) is one of the technical terms which has to be borrowed into Indonesian when talking about this art or occupation because the concept of /digórah/ is not just 'to be given a drink' which is equivalent to the Indonesian /diberi minóm/, but it also includes a certain ritual that accompanies the drinking. In the case of the retired sindèn above the ritual was conducted by her manager and was attended by all the members of the gamelon ensemble to which she belonged. (The other two loans are used out of ignorance. Cf. 6.2.1.5.)

When talking about beauty care Javanese women often talk about /jamu/ 'a concoction of herbs and certain ingredients' which is believed to be able to preserve young look, ideal figure, beautiful skin, etc. In the following example a non-Javanese (NJ) asks an elderly Javanese woman (J) how she manages the young appearance:

332. NJ: Ko? maséh kliatan muda sé. Minóm jamu ya barangkali?

How come you look young. Is it because of the JAMU?

J: Ya, jamunya nyang hébat.

Yes, it's THE JAMU that is terrific.

There are a large number of jamu's each having its own benefit and usefulness. Some dozens of them are prepared to provide all sorts of women's needs and are usually known as /jamu galihan singset/ and /jamu padmosari/ are the two well-known ones. The former keeps the ideal figure lines and the latter keeps the skin and countenance young looking, bright and healthy. A large number of jamu's are believed to have curing power and are used as remedies. For example, /jamu sariawan/ is a remedy for /sariawan/ 'sprue' and /jamu pegel linu/ relieves the pain in the joints and eliminates muscle tension. A small sickly child who loses its appetite may be given a special jamu called /ceko?/ which will restore the child's appetite. This /ceko?/ is usually very bitter

and nasty smelling and so the child's parents most often have to force the child to take it with a great deal of protest and struggle from the latter. From this root the term /diceko?i/ has been used figuratively to mean 'be spoon-fed, drugged', etc., which has been used a great deal by politicians to refer to unwanted culture, ideology or ideal and the like which has been inculcated by force into a certain group of people.

Since many of the assimilated loans are medical terms we find them cropping up frequently in the speech of a doctor and his patient. For example:

333. D: Kumat-kumatan apa terós menerós?

Do you have it FROM TIME TO TIME or do you have it constantly?

P: Terós-menerós.

I've been suffering from this continuously.

In Javanese /kumat/ refers to an attack of latent disease. Another dermatologist tells her patient how to apply the ointment she prescribes:

334. Ini nanti diberi óbat untó? jerawatnya itu. Ditutól-tutólan hanya di tempat yang ada jerawatnya. Di laén tempat jangan. *I'll give you something for the pim&les and you should APPLY IT LIGHTLY just on the spots where the pimples are. Don't apply it anywhere else.*

Assimilated loans also refer to ceremonies. For example, some excerpts taken from the speech made at an anniversary of a certain association:

335. a: (Master of Ceremony) Kemudian upacara yang bersifat selamatan tradisionél. Unto? itu kepada para petugas kami persilahkan menyiapkan tumpengan. *The next programme is the traditional SELAMATAN (food offering). Those who are in charge of this are requested to prepare for the TUMPENGAN (a ritual in which yellow rice shaped like a cone decorated with vegetables, meat and other dishes is finally distributed to and eaten by the participants).*

b: (A speaker) Rupanya kangennya Pa? Gubernór ini ditrapkan kepada empat ratós sebelas kepala désa duapuluh sembilan camat dan tujuh kepala wilayah pembantu bupati. *It seems that the governor's longing has been ADDRESSED to (lit. 'transferred and fitted to') the 411 village heads, 29 sub-district heads and 7 district head's assistants.*

In Javanese /slametan/ (Indonesianised into /selamatan/) is a ceremony consisting of a prayer wishing a person or persons involving in an undertaking, a certain event or the like good luck in which food is offered in a ritual. This food offering may be in the form of tumpengan or other forms.

6.2.3.2. Partially Assimilated Loans

These loans are also found in almost all walks of life and various fields of interest. For example, when talking about arrest in a general sense people may use the Indonesian term /ditahan/ 'be arrested'. The Javanese loan /dicakop/ usually refers to the arrest of prostitutes, tramps, vendors selling their goods in prohibited areas, illegal pedicab drivers and the like. This loan in East Java is more popular than the Indonesian slang /digaro?/ which conveys the same meaning. In late 1965 the Javanese loan /dicidio?/ (lit. 'be caught in a pail') was commonly used to refer to the arrest of a suspect who was involved in the attempted coup d'etat on September 30, 1965. In the following example two acquaintances are talking about 'tramps':

336. A: O iya, ada prumahan sana, prumahan órang-órang glandangan?
Oh, yes, there is housing for 'tramps' over there?

B: Ya, jadi orang-orang yang keno cakóp itu dibina di sana.
Yes, so those who have been ARRESTED get some treatment and guidance there.

The Indonesian equivalent for the Javanese term /wadiah/ 'container' is /tempat/. However, the Javanese term is often borrowed into Indonesian and Indonesianised as /wadah/ because the loan word may mean a container of an abstract thing such as a system, a profession, an organisation, etc., as well as an ordinary 'container'. In the following example, an educator uses it when talking about certain skills:

337. Misalnya kita ingén memberikan ketrampilan didalam wadah yang kita namakan prèktikel art.
For example, we would like to teach a certain skill which belongs to THE GREATER UNIT called practical art.

In another example the term is used in a prayer at a ceremony:

338. Kami mohon kepadamu, ya Allah, agar wadah prófèsi kami selalu mendapat perlindunganmu, rakhmatmu serta kasih sayangmu. . . .
We pray to you, oh mighty God, that our ASSOCIATION will be constantly under your protection, mercy and love. . . .

In the prayer what is meant by /wadah prófèsi/ is the association of people having the same profession, i.e., the Association of Indonesian

Reporters. The term /wadah/ used in 337, however, is more abstract. It refers to 'practical art' to which many skills belong.

The Indonesian term /maksót/ 'goal, interest, etc.' is equivalent to the Javanese term /karep/. In Javanese, however, there is a special term that refers to 'a secret interest or goal'. This term is /pamréh/ which is frequently borrowed into Indonesian. For example, at the end of a lecture on Islam a teacher hopes:

339. Semóga Allah membuka hati kita bersama, menjadikan kita órang-órang yang dapat mengamalkan kebajikan semata-mata Allah, tanpa ada sesuatu pamréh untó? diri maupón órang laén.
May God always remind us to be persons who do good things for God's sake alone, without having any secret interest for ourselves or for others.

The term /kegiatan/ is used both in Indonesian and Javanese to mean 'activity'. In Javanese there are also terms which refer to 'a forceful activity', namely /ulah kridho/ and /ómba? umból/. The former also implies 'all sorts of activities' while the latter also implies 'uncontrollable force' like that of /ómba?/ 'waves'. In the following excerpt these two Javanese terms are borrowed into Indonesian by the assistant governor at his congratulatory speech (see a quotation from his speech in 306, Section 6.2.1.2):

340. Semóga Péwé?i menjadi unsór komunikasi sóisial yang top dan prima dan senantiasa menjalankan dinamika serasi dengan ólah kridanya praja dan ómba? umbolnya masyarakat dalam melaksanakan pembangunan.
I hope the Association of Indonesian Reporters will become the best organisation in conducting social communication, will always be dynamic and in the same rhythm in manoeuvring ALL SORTS OF ACTIVITIES with the government and is in agreement with the GREAT EFFORTS of the people in developing their country.

6.3. DUTCH LOANS INTO INDONESIAN

There are two different types of Dutch loans found in the speech of East Javanese. The first type includes those which are commonly found in the speech of intellectuals of the older generation which have certain sociolinguistic meanings (and which we shall discuss in the following sections), while the other tupe includes those which are commonly used in standard Indonesian with Indonesian pronunciations and which have lost any sort of foreign learned connotation such as /tas/ 'bag', /rèbewès/ 'driver's licence', /kaptèn/ 'captain', /dósèn/ 'university teacher', etc.

6.3.1. DUTCH LOANS AS A SIGN OF GROUP IDENTITY

Educated people of the older generation use Dutch loans in their speech to identify themselves with that group of people who received their education in Dutch (during the Dutch colonial period or shortly thereafter). For them Dutch is a code: it is used in ordinary everyday conversations and has a certain sociolinguistic meaning, i.e., the language of learning, official situations, modernism, and the like. The Dutch loans arise out of code switching from Dutch to Indonesian, so that we frequently find Dutch loans in their speech, particularly in contexts which refer to official situations or in which the speaker wishes to assert his educational attainment or modernism. For example, a high ranking official uses a great number of Dutch loans at an official meeting:

341. Aga? èkstréym sedikit saya bicara. . . .

My speech is a bit UNUSUAL. . . .

He uses the Dutch loan /èkstréym/ 'unusual' or 'extraordinary' instead of the Indonesian /luar biasa/. When talking about the goal of tourism he says:

342. Kaló? bóleh saya mengatakan het eind doel dari pada
kepariwisataan ini akhérynya tujuannya tida? laén untó?
memberikan sumber hidóp kepada ra?yat.

*If I may say, THE ULTIMATE GOAL of tourism, that is its goal,
is none other than giving the people a source of livelihood.*

After giving the Dutch expression the speaker gives the Indonesian equivalent /akhérynya tujuannya/ 'finally the goal' as an emphasis or an explanation. In the speech he also uses various other loans such as *buitenland* 'foreign country', *generaal majoor* 'major general', *splinter splinternieu* 'brand new', etc. Further, he maintains the Dutch pronunciation for loans which have been adopted into Indonesian, e.g., he pronounces /mèntaal/ 'mental' with a long /a/ instead of using the ordinary Indonesianised /mèntal/, /internasionaal/ 'international' for /internasional/, etc.

In unofficial situations these Dutch-speaking people often use common conversational Dutch expressions even when talking with people who do not know Dutch. For example, on the tennis court and at the bridge club tables expressions like Als U biieft 'Please'; Weet je 'You know'; Jammer zeg 'What a pity'; En dan 'And then'; Ne hoor 'Oh, no'; Zo lief 'How nice' and many others are commonly heard.

The children of the elite group often become minimally familiar with these Dutch expressions because they hear them from childhood, and they

use them with one another as a sign of group identity. For example, a college student who is the daughter of a retired sugar plantation director makes a remark of disagreement when a male member of the in-group cracks a joke on nudists:

343. Slordex ah yèy!
Stop using profanity!

(From slordig 'loose in usage of words', and jij 'you'.) For a little while the male friend becomes the object of teasing by all the members and finally another girl reminds them not to tease him too much:

344. Niyt te erex, anders kapo? Ihó hèy.
NOT TOO MUCH, OTHERWISE HE will get fed up with us.

Educated Peranakan Chinese and their offspring also often use Dutch loans to identify themselves as opposed to non-educated ones. The following excerpt is taken from the speech of two educated Peranakans:

345. A: Ana?-ana? nda? ada satu yang bisa ikót?
Can't any of your children accompany you?
- B: Kaló? bisa of Yohannes of Daod ikót misi? ada nyang nyópér, Iha ówé bisa res sedikit.
If EITHER John OR David can come it means there will be somebody who can drive a car and so I can get a little REST.

The Ambonese and the Menadonese in East Java also use Dutch loans heavily in their speech and for these groups this usage is as much a sign of ethnic identity as class. The following excerpt is taken from the speech of an educated Menadonese (M) and her Javanese friend (J):

346. M: Itu siapa to yang tinggal di bekas rumah pa? Bono dulu?
 Slalu ramèy saja, siang malam ramèy.
I was wondering who lives in Mr. Bono's former house. It's always noisy there, day and night.
- J: Órang kita. Itu Ihó yang tinggi, seréng di kantor bimbingan. Pulang pergi biasanya dia lèwat sana nda? lèwat sini.
A colleague of ours. It's the tall guy who works mostly at the guidance and counselling office, you know? He usually takes that route to go out and back and never takes this route.
- M: O, daarom heb ik hem nog nooit gezien.
Oh, that's why I've never seen him (in that house).

6.3.2. DUTCH LOANS USED AS LENDING PRESTIGE TO THE SPEAKER OR UTTERANCE

Since Dutch is a code for groups which are considered to have superior education Dutch forms are taken over by other people outside of those groups as a device for giving prestige - i.e., putting some importance or weight in their utterances or showing that the speaker is not just anybody. For example, a student who is working his way through college by driving pedicab tries to show his new acquaintance that he is as good as any other student by using Dutch and English borrowings in his speech (where actually Indonesian forms would have sufficed). When talking about the castes in Bali he says:

347. Dulu jamam tradisionél itu maséh betól-betól dipisahkan. Maséh ada gèp yang besar antara Sudra dan Brahmana.
In the old days when the HINDU TRADITION was still very strong people were distinguished according to castes. There was a big GAP between the lowest caste and the Brahmin.

Talking about his experienfe as a pedicab driver he says:

348. Tetapi dalam mbéca? sendiri ya, saya sudah cukóp banya?lah mengetahui baé? psikologis béca? baé? hukóm yang ta? tertulés.
As a pedicab driver myself, I have learned a lot about the PSYCHOLOGY of the pedicab drivers and the unwritten conventions as well.

About the solidarity among the drivers he says:

349. Langsóng tida? langsóng sbagèy teman umpamanya, ko? merasa anu, ikót gitu lhó. Solidaritetnya kuat skali dalam mbéca? itu.
As a colleague whether you are directly involved in a squabble or not, you feel the need to sympathise with them. THE FEELING OF SOLIDARITY among the pedicab drivers is very strong.

Comedians make use of this position of Dutch as well. In trying to employ loan words people often make mistakes in pronunciation or in interpretation of the form or in the grammar. Further, the yser frequently sounds confident that he is doing the right thing. It is this sort of development that is often the butt of humour. In East Java the comedians in ludruk folkplays are very good at making such parodies which reflect current usage. In the following excerpt a ludruk character tries to use the term *mentaal* after an official has used it:

350. A: Bapa? ketua panitya Keluarga Berencana ini mémang
membilangkan harós tahan mèntaal.
*The chairman of the Family Planning committee has just
said that we should have MENTAL perseverance.*

B: Mèntal itu apa sé?
What is MENTAL?

A: Nda? tau ya?
How do I know?

6.3.3. DUTCH LEARNED BORROWINGS REFERRING TO TECHNICAL TERMS

There are also Dutch technical loans which do not have any connotation of adherence to an ethnic group or elite class. They are used particularly as a trade jargon which is employed in various groups of specialised occupations belonging to people of different groups in society, starting from non-educated manual workers and vendors to highly educated and trained doctors and engineers. Indirectly, these loans can sometimes show to which socioeconomic class the users belong, but they are not used consciously as a class symbol. For example, an old servant who has learned how to cook many different cakes and dishes from her former and present mistresses knows a great deal about ingredients, cakes and dishes in Indonesianised or Javanised Dutch terms:

351. Visitor: Diajarl apa aja sama nyónyanya yang dulu
What did your former mistress teach you?

Servant: Ya, macem-macem, sop Blanda, sla, besté?, sosés,
ragu, macem-macem.
*Well, many kinds, Dutch style SOUP, SALAD, STEAK
(Dutch: biefstuk), SAUSAGE (saucijs), RAGOUT, etc.*

A /kenè?/ 'man-servant' (Dutch: knecht) who helps a bus driver or a truck driver uses a set of vocabulary items in his trade which might not be understood by a layman or a person of different trade. These vocabulary items include the Dutch origin /atret/ 'back up' (from: achteruit) /klaar/ 'ready' (from: klaar), /pol/ 'full' (from: vol), /rasia/ 'police raid, i.e., to check licences, passengers, goods, etc.' (from: razzia) /perkeneng/ 'licence' (from: vergunning), /wales kiri/ 'role to the left' (used when directing the driver to park the vehicle. Probably from walsen 'to role'), etc.

In the following excerpt a vendor of flowers uses Dutch loans when talking with his customer (C):

352. C: Kalow mau membibét dicangko? ini ya pa??
Do you usually start a new plant by rooting and cutting?

V: O enda?, ini caranya distèk (from: stekken). Setelah distèk dikulasi (from: oculatie).

Oh no, for this plant the best method is by CUTTING and GRAFTING.

An elderly Peranakan woman when talking about her son who owns a store uses Dutch loans which used to be employed in the licence given to a particular dealer:

353. Lha jual itu, apa itu, nè? omong Blanda apa, prowènsen èn drangken (Dutch: provisien en dranken) itu lho, makanan dan minuman.

He sells, what do you call it, in Dutch it's provisien en dranken, you know, food and beverage.

When talking about a pretty girl, a college student uses a technical term which has been widely used among educated people:

354. Kukira dia mengangkat kita dari segi kecantikannya. Artinya dengan dia itu kita tida? merasa anu, minderlah (Dutch: minderwaardigheids-complex).

I mean if I married her I would never have an inferiority complex concerning her appearance.

The above examples are only some of the Dutch loans used in actual life. As a matter of fact, in almost any walk of life which has a trade jargon of its own there are always a number of terms originally borrowed from or through Dutch that are included in the list of technical terms.

6.4. ENGLISH LOANS INTO INDONESIAN

English has also become the language of the learned. A greater number of university textbooks and reference books are in English. But it has not become a code in any part of the speech community (although it may be used as a code in certain speech situations such as in English classes, in seminars and workshops attended by expert from abroad, in certain clubs such as the Women's International Club and in other situations). However, the adoption of English loans on the pattern of the adoption to fulfill the need for technical terms while many others are used to add importance and weight to the utterance or as a way of fancying speech. According to these functions, English loans are found in both official situations and in unofficial conversations as well.

6.4.1. ENGLISH LOANS AS A SYMBOL OF GROUP IDENTITY

English loans are frequently used by educated people of the younger generation to mark the group in their speech, particularly when talking

with other educated interlocutors. For example, a college student uses a numb-r of English loans and some Dutch ones for such purposes. To compliment the addressee who happens to be a student in a department of good standing he says:

355. Gut itu. Itu yang baé? sekali.

That's GOOD. That's really a very good department.

When he wants to say that a man does not always have the power to control his feelings he says:

356. Manusia itu tida? selamanya pawer. Tida? slamanya seperti mékanis, tapi mengalami apa, rèndemén psikologis (Indonesian-ised from Dutch rendement and psychologisch).

A human being doesn't always have the POWER to control. He isn't able to do everything like a machine, but he has some PSYCHOLOGICAL OBSTACLES.

And when he talks about his experience as a guide in Bali he says:

357. Apa yang dimaksót dengan turés, apa yang dia ingén tanyakan tentang obyèk wisata misalnya, ya swatu kilasan historinyalah, kita ceritakan sedemikian rupa, yang lebèh cenderung folk stórinanya, artinya ra?yatnyalah.

What the tourists want, what they want to know about the tourist site for example, well a brief history, we tell them in such a way that it sounds like a 'folk story', I mean about the people.

The addressee also uses English loans for fancifying speech, loans which are not normally used in INdonesian such as in:

358. Adat ya, peninggalan yang maséh, maséh ègzist.

It's tradition, an inheritance which is still, um, IN EXISTENCE, right?

The Indonesian term /hidóp/ 'live' or /ada/ 'exist' can actually replace the English loan /ègzist/ above without reducing the meaning, but it does not give the utterance the desired effect. The same addressee also uses other English loans such as /anské/ 'unskilled', /sabyèktiv/ 'subjective', /fóklor/ 'folklore', etc., for the same purpose.

A youths' representative at a neighbourhood meeting attended by a number of elders and the neighbourhood head also uses English loans for group identity:

359. Kami minta? ijén untó? mengadakan filéng di antara kami sendiri.

I would like to ask your permission to TALK IT OVER among ourselves.

When he wants the neighbourhood head and his staff to be the youth's consultant, he says:

360. Dari pemuda kami tambahkan bahwa èrka dan stafnya supaya membantu kami sbagèy konsultan.
We, the youths would like to add that we would be happy if Mr. Neighbourhood Head and his staff would be willing to assist us as CONSULTANTS.

The same device is also employed by a young lecturer on Islam when talking about education in Islam. He says that Islam urges the followers never to stop enhancing their knowledge and:

361. Poko'nya menambah ilmu seja? lahér sampè? mati. Long laif èdukéysyen.
Principally, you should seek knowledge from birth till death. EDUCATION FOR LIFE.

His speech contrasts with the older preachers and priests who normally use a great number of Arabic loans and other loans which have lost their foreign learned connotation.

6.4.2. ENGLISH LOANS AS LENDING PRESTIGE TO THE SPEAKER OR UTTERANCE

Since English is the language of intellectuals, English loans have a certain prestige and are frequently used in various situations sometimes even by people who hardly know English. For example, a village head who has heard the form upgrading used to refer to refresher courses or seminars, uses it for a particular meaning:

362. A: Kéng nda? pundi pa? lurah?
Where have you been, Mr. Village Head?
 B: Kéng ndhèrè? apgrédéng teng kabupatèn.
Just came back from an UPGRADING at the District Head's office.

It turns out in this case apgrédéng is a monthly routine briefing by the District Head to the village heads on current political issues.

In another example, a student who has some experience as a tourist guide gives some advice on how one should act as a guide:

363. Ya tapi lebéh sép lagi kalow anda bisa ke Bali umpamanya. Yu aja? turés kemana. Pertama kali kita mencóba saja. Exprimèn dengan turés istilahnya: "Heló yu kèn foló mi wèn yu, e", yu ngga? usah bayar. "Yu ken sté at mal hóm for e long taim, umpamanya.
Yes, but it would BE BETTER if you could go to Bali, for example. YOU may invite a tourist to go somewhere. First we

could try to speak English as an EXPERIMENT like: "HELLO, WOULD YOU LIKE TO TAKE ME AS YOUR GUIDE? YOU don't have to pay me and YOU CAN STAY AT MY HOME FOR A LONG TIME."

The implication is that you can be a good guide if you can communicate with tourists in English just as *"I used to do when I was a guide using English"*.

Lending prestige frequently has a determining effect on the spread and development in meaning of a certain loan. The slang terms /mbois/ *'youthful look in choice of clothes and conduct'*, /nyèntrik/ *'original and strange in choice of clothes and conduct'* and many others (see also 2.3.3) must have been developed and spread among the youth through some kind of peer pressure. Such slang terms (which mostly are of English origin) are often used as prestige symbols, the symbol of intellectuals and youth, and so a young person who feels himself a member of a given group will show this by using them in his speech. A similar development has happened with the slang term /grogì/ which must have originated from the English *'groggy'* but which has taken on quite a different meaning. In the late sixties this slang term was much used by the local prominent politicians to replace the Indonesian term /gentar/ *'afraid of'* in a certain context with the intention of fancifying it. A decade later, grogi is used by politicians including the young ones in their speech on politics and by many members of other groups when discussing things other than politics as well. For example, a young government official who teases his good friend and colleague says:

364. Ini lho gambarnya pólitikós gemblengan yang tida? grogì menghadapi lawan-lawannya.
Here comes a tough politician who is not AFRAID to face his opponents.

Another example from the speech of a college student at the tennis court after a successful match:

365. Waktu inslan tadi grogì lhé liat topspinnya.
When I was warming up I was DISCOURAGED to learn his excellent topspin shots, you know.

And a comedian at a iudruk folkplay gives his opinion on a certain situation:

366. Wah, ya rodo? grogì kaló? disuruh dódó? bersandéng.
My, I really FEEL EMBARRASSED if I have to sit next to you, lady.

6.4.3. ENGLISH TECHNICAL LOANS

Compared to Dutch loans the adoption of English loans into Indonesian is quite recent, and therefore this usage has not spread as widely as that of Dutch loans which are found in the speech of vendors, bus drivers, as well as in the speech of intellectuals. Used as technical terms, English loans often still have a learned connotation. For example, a high ranking official who involves himself a great deal in the development of tourism in East Java, uses a number of English loans as technical terms in his speech given at a meeting on tourism attended by government officials and local businessmen:

367. a. Alangkah baé?nya kalow bina pemasaran atow markèténg sèksyen ini juga? mempunyai suatu kantor yang diberi nama yalah énforméysyen ofés atow ya keterangan atow penerangan, kalow saya kira énforméysyen ofés untó? kepariwisata?an itu sudah cukóp baé?
It would be very good if the MARKETING SECTION (or bina pemasaran) has an office called INFORMATION OFFICE or well, explanation or information, I think 'information office' is good enough.
- b. Pula juga? untó? konsumsi atow kebutuhan daérah.
Also for CONSUMPTION or local needs.
- c. Kalow meréka sudah mulai gaidéng meréka adalah far bilów standard.
When they come to do their GUIDING their performance is usually FAR BELOW STANDARD.

He also uses other loans such as: camping ground, youth tourists, events, brochure, etc. He belongs to the older generation whcih speaks both Dutch and English, however, in this particular speech he does not use Dutch loans since the English terms are more commonly used when talking about tourism nowadays. Another speaker who is a little higher in rank than him but not an expert on the subject uses mostly Dutch loans for forms which have cognates in English like brosur 'brochure', domestik 'domestic', arsitektur 'architecture', several commonly used English loans like /flèt/ 'flat', /gaid/ 'guide', /wikèn/ 'weekend', and some combined forms which are typical of his generation such as buitenland made (Dutch and English) 'foreign made', night klub (English and Dutch) 'nightclub', steam-bad (English and Dutch) 'steam bath', etc.

There is a tendency to pick up English loans in society rather than Dutch to fulfill the present demand for new terms. For example, a tape-recorder is known as /tip/ or /tép/ after the English. In the following example a salesman tells a customer about clothing materials:

368. Itu jersey pa?, baé? disetèlkan sama blujin ini.

That's JERSEY which matches with this BLUE JEANS, sir.

The following example is taken from the speech of a mason (M) and an acquaintance (A):

369. A: Ini yang bawah ini rencana unto? apa ini?

What is this first floor going to be used for?

M: Itu sopéng.

That's for SHOPPING (centre).

A: O, sopéng sènter itu?

Oh, for a SHOPPING CENTRE?

And a Peranakan salesman uses /jèk/ 'jack' to refer to a socket which connects a tape recorder and electric circuits:

370. A: Kapan digawa?no pita yo mlaku

It works all right whenever you provide it with a tape.

B: Iyo, ono anuné?

Does it have, um?

A: Ono jèké.

It has JACKS.

6.5. LOANS FROM OTHER LOCAL LANGUAGES AND PCI INTO INDONESIAN

Non-Javanese residents of East Java also use Javanese loans in their speech, as we have seen in the examples above, particularly when they communicate with Javanese. When they are among people of their own ethnic group, however, they may speak in their mother tongue (particularly for the first generation immigrants) or Indonesian with loans from the mother tongue (particularly for the second and subsequent generations). The function of the loans is like some of the loans which have just been discussed above, namely to solidify ethnic group identity, to make the speech situation less formal, to bring the interlocutors to a more intimate relation and the like. For example, the Batak immigrants will greet one another /horas/ 'How are you', the Ambonese will use /aku/ and /bèta/ a great deal instead of /saya/ 'I' when using Indonesian, the Menadonese will often use forms found in their dialect like /sebentar malam/ for the Indonesian /nantì malam/ 'tonight', the Banjarese (from Banjarmasin) will use /nggéh/ and /ulón/ to replace /ya/ 'yes' and /saya/ 'I' respectively, the Madurese will use /pangapora/ to say 'I'm sorry'. In the following example a Peranakan who was born and educated in Bandung uses a Sundanese loan when talking to her Javanese friend who knows a little Sundanese:

371. P: Ali itu yang mana?

Which one is Ali?

J: Itu yang itu.

The guy over there.

P: Yang paké? topi putih. Kaló? yang coklat itu baraya?

The guy with a white hat? That one with the brown hat is our RELATIVE.

Another example taken from the speech of a Sundanese who is talking with her cousin (now a permanent resident of East Java) about her son:

372. A: Ayċna sakola dimana?

WHERE DOES HE GO TO SCHOOL NOW?

B: Di Bandung, sekolah lagi, biar aja. Ana? kalow sudah ngga? mau, ngga? betah, buang uang nanti aku

He goes to school in Bandung again. I leave him alone, because we cannot force our child to live away from us if he does not want to or he doesn't LIKE IT there, otherwise I'll have to spend lots of money for him.

In the whole conversation the two cousins speak back and forth in Indonesian and Sundanese and always use Sundanese loans when speaking Indonesian.

Certain Chinese loans are used by the Peranakans as a sign of in-group identity, e.g., /ciamí?/ 'good', /engkong/ 'grandfather', /kè?/ 'Chinese', etc. These loans to some extent are picked up by members of other ethnic groups who have exclusive dealings with the Peranakans. For example, a Javanese scalper dealing in movie tickets is trying to convince his young customer that he only gets a very small profit from the sale of each. He uses Chinese numbers because his prospective customers are for the most part also Peranakan Chinese:

373. Ini cuma? dapet jigo satu, kaló? ampat la? cuma? cepè? to mas.

I get only TWENTY-FIVE rupiahs each which makes just ONE HUNDRED rupiahs for all four, you know.

Certain Chinese loans are very popular with non-Peranakans, e.g., the TA /koh/ and /ci?/ (see 4.2.2.2.1) are frequently used by non-Peranakans to address Peranakans; /cia?lat/ 'What rotten luck' and /cia?/ 'eat' and some others are frequently used by young non-Peranakans for humorous effect.

6.6. JARGON AND SPECIAL CODES FUNCTIONING AS A SECRET LANGUAGE

Many Peranakan Chinese traders frequently use Chinese terms in Indonesian when they are discussing prices in the presence of a customer. These terms function as a kind of secret code. In daily communication there are numerous ways of creating such secret codes in East Java.

Among young people one of the most common codes is the boso wali?an '(reversed language)' which essentially is formed by reversing the spellings of the significant lexical items in a context with some other rules like deletion and contraction. For example, ójó? comes from bó?jó 'spouse', kèndhep from pendhèk 'short', sinam from manis 'cute', etc. Some terms which undergo a contraction include: onèt for Cino (formally spelled Tjino) 'Chinese', silóp from pólisi 'police', etc. There are also several special terms added like èbès 'father', misóa 'husband', raijo 'money' and others. Certain forms from this boso wali?an have spread throughout the speech community. For example, an old maid servant who often speaks with young people is heard to use such a term when talking about her aging:

374. . . . iya tapi kalo? pipinya sudah kèwut (from tuwèk).
 . . . yes, but my cheeks show their OLD AGE.

Another common mechanism to create such a code is by inserting an infix -in- in every syllable which belongs to significant lexical items in a context. For example, /sombong/ 'snobbish' becomes /sinombinong/, /manés/ 'cute' becomes /minaninés/. This pig-latin type of code is only popular among teenagers in some cities.

Another type of secret language is the kind which is used by certain gelandangan 'tramps' and pickpockets. For example, a night watchman who lives close to where certain gelandangan and pickpockets usually gather has learned some jargon of the boso maléng 'thieves' language'. The following examples are some of his findings:

375. a. Ké?ang itu poko?nya kendarat?an beroda dua
 Ké?ang is a term for any two-wheeled vehicle.
- b. Kaló? dikóyó? itu dibikén. Ayó? orang itu dikóyó? gitu dirampok gitu.
 As for dikóyó?, it means to BE RIPPED OFF. Let's kóyó? that man means, Let's ROB him, you know.
- Tarhèt itu ambél. Tarhèten aé, ambél aja.
 Tarhèt means pick up. Just tarhèt means, just pick it up.

In daily life there are cases where a speaker has to use to an addressee a local language which is not understood by the other inter-

locutors. When this happens the speaker has to translate into the language (usually Indonesian) common to all the interlocutors. For example, a daughter-in-law of a Javanese family will talk in Javanese with her Javanese parents-in-law almost anywhere, since that is the proper *toto kromo* in speech. In situations where there is a non-Javanese interlocutor who neither speaks nor understands Javanese, (usually the one with whom the non-Javanese is the most intimate) to translate or explain in Indonesian (or in another language they have in common) to the non-Javanese. People who fail to do so are considered as not knowing the *toto-kromo* in speech, since secret languages are inapplicable in such situations.

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